

equality and dignity can be a living reality for all Americans; and

Whereas this vital and noble purpose has been effectively advanced by President Lyndon B. Johnson whose breadth of vision and brilliant leadership in this field are acknowledged with gratitude and admiration by the American people; and

Whereas under President Johnson's outstanding effective leadership, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have the potential to eliminate racial discrimination in many aspects of American life; and

Whereas the implementation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have not met the high standards established by President Johnson and the Congress; and

Whereas the high hopes of the American people are being frustrated by the slow implementation of these laws; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Young Democratic Clubs of America meeting in convention that:*

Article 1. We call upon the Department of Justice to use its extensive powers under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to assign additional Federal voting registrars in all the many counties where Americans are still denied the right to vote by unconstitutional means.

Article 2. We call upon all Federal agencies to implement title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which requires the withdrawal of Federal funds wherever racial discrimination exists in federally supported programs until that racial discrimination ends.

Article 3. The Young Democrats of America are encouraged to devise, implement and support programs which secure to all groups the right to share fully and equally, with dignity, in American society.

#### FAIR HOUSING RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF NEW JERSEY

Whereas in the 1960 election campaign presidential candidate John F. Kennedy pledged that, if elected, he would ban discrimination practices in the Government's housing operations with a "stroke of the pen"; and

Whereas on November 20, 1962, President Kennedy placed his signature on Executive Order No. 11063 banning discrimination in federally aided housing, and including a declaration that exclusion of Americans from such housing because of their race, color, creed or national origin is "unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws; and

Whereas the order, though an important advanced principle, is limited in scope and (1) fails to embrace existing housing, even if such housing is federally assisted, (2) fails to cover loans by federally aided savings and loans associations and other similar institutions, and (3) fails to protect against discriminatory practices by these lenders; and

Whereas housing segregation is tied directly to slums and slum conditions, to segregated schools, to inequalities in employment and to the poverty which haunts millions of Negro Americans and other minorities so movingly outlined by President Johnson in his Howard University speech in June 1965; and

Whereas it remains the responsibility of the executive branch of the Government to complete the task of prohibiting discrimination in federally assisted housing, which it set out to accomplish in 1962: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Young Democratic Clubs of America meeting in convention, That we do hereby respectfully urge the President of the United States to amend Executive Order No. 11063 as follows:*

1. To prohibit discriminatory practices in mortgage loans by all banks and lending

institutions which are subject in any manner to regulation, supervision or control by an agency of the Federal Government.

2. To cover all federally aided housing which was built or contracted for prior to November 20, 1962, and which continues to enjoy Federal assistance.

In addition to the foregoing recommendations, the YDCA also urges action on the following administrative matters:

1. The procedural power provided various Federal housing agencies to grant exemptions from the scope of the order should be withdrawn. Under this power the Federal Housing Administration has excluded the resale of single family homes. This exemption violates the reach of the order and minimizes its effectiveness.

2. The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing should be directed to assume broad responsibility for the implementation of the order and should be provided with sufficient staff and budget expansion to administer an effective national program.

#### RACIAL VIOLENCE RESOLUTION

Whereas in recent months illy-white southern juries, ignoring the overwhelming weight of the evidence, have in several cases, refused to indict or convict white southerners accused of serious crimes of violence against both Negro and white citizens denied the equal protection of the law; and

Whereas the punishment of those guilty of crime is essential to the protection of the rights of the innocent and the failure to punish persons guilty of crimes such as murder against any citizen is a denial of the equal protection of the laws promised all citizens; and

Whereas these recent events indicate that it may be impossible to obtain judges or juries in southern courts which are not biased against civil rights workers, and biased in favor of those who commit crimes against them; and

Whereas bias on the part of the court and jury in favor of accused defendants is as detrimental to the preservation of law and order as is bias against such defendants: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved, That the YDCA strongly deplore the denial of equal protection of the law of these Southern States; and be it further*

*Resolved, That we urge that crimes of violence against civil rights workers and any other citizen denied the equal protection of the law be made Federal offenses, to be tried in Federal court after indictment by a Federal grand jury, in the hope that cases in these courts may be tried free of the racial bias which, in State courts, denies to civil rights workers the equal protection of the laws.*

#### MISSISSIPPI RESOLUTION—INTRODUCED BY MICHIGAN

Whereas this 15th biennial convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America has chartered a Mississippi Young Democratic organization which is racially integrated and broadly representative of all the people of Mississippi who support the national Democratic Party and the progressive programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson; and

Whereas the 1964 National Convention of the Democratic Party meeting in Atlantic City, N.J., declared its national policy to be one of requiring and encouraging all State Democratic Parties to be racially integrated and open to all loyal Democrats and the special Lawrence Subcommittee of the Democratic National Committee is now formulating a program to enforce this policy; and

Whereas Mississippi is a politically depressed area where the lack of a loyal Democratic Party organization and unconstitutional restrictions on the right to vote which meant that nearly half of all eligible Missis-

sippians were not allowed to vote in 1964 elections resulted in the electoral votes of Mississippi being cast for the representative of rightwing reaction and negativism; and

Whereas the Voting Rights Act of 1965 sponsored by the Johnson administration has recently been signed into law which enforces the right of every American to register and vote regardless of race and which the Democratic Party and the Johnson administration are committed to vigorously and expeditiously enforce; and

Whereas the absence of any other affiliated Democratic organization in Mississippi which supports the national Democratic Party means that the Young Democratic organization of Mississippi must build an organization from the ground up; and

Whereas the members and officers of the young Democratic organization of Mississippi are to be particularly commended and are especially deserving of help by the Young Democratic Clubs of America because the current political situation in Mississippi means that it requires special acts of courage to affiliate with and support the national Democratic Party: Now be it hereby

*Resolved by the Young Democratic Clubs of America meeting in convention that,*

Article 1. The Young Democratic Clubs of America hereby pledge every form of assistance necessary for the Mississippi Young Democratic organization to grow and flourish so that it may build the Great Society in Mississippi.

Article 2. The President of the YDCA shall appoint a select committee to develop and administer a detailed program to implement article 1 which shall include but not be limited to the encouragement of nationally prominent Democrats to speak in Mississippi under the aegis of the Mississippi Young Democrats and the recruitment of Young Democrats who are expert in membership recruitment and voter registration to help the Mississippi Young Democrats. All aspects of the detailed program shall be at the request of and with the approval of the executive committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi.

Article 3. A special Mississippi fund is hereby established which will be used to help the Mississippi Young Democratic organization to register voters, recruit members, and establish an active Young Democratic program in Mississippi. The national executive committee shall solicit contributions to the fund from regional, State, and local organization of Young Democrats and from groups sympathetic to a vigorous Young Democratic organization in Mississippi.

Article 4. The convention hereby calls upon its regional, State, and local organizations to adopt and help particular units of the Mississippi Young Democrats by providing funds, supplies, and expert help under the direction of the special Mississippi committee.

#### INTOLERABLE CONDITION OF SHAW JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

(Mr. WHITENER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months Members of Congress and the public have been greatly concerned about the intolerable condition of Shaw Junior High School. Anyone familiar with the condition of that school facility must agree that it should be abandoned at the earliest possible date and a new facility established.

This is easier said than done. A school even though in bad physical condition, which is serving several hundreds

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of students, cannot be summarily abandoned without providing another physical plant to accommodate the displaced students. In the case of the Shaw Junior High School many problems are presented which would not be present in a small town or rural area. There is the problem peculiar to a metropolitan area of finding a site within the service area of the school that is being abandoned, and this is particularly true in the case of Shaw.

Another problem that presents itself is that if a new site is located in the Shaw area it will be necessary to dispossess residents and small business operators who are currently residing and operating in the area to be used for a future school building.

These are real and existing problems which are much more difficult to solve than many are willing to admit. It is quite easy to be critical of the Board of Education, the District Commissioners, and the Congress for continuing to use this substandard school facility, but it is another thing to find a solution to the problem. This is particularly true in view of the fact that vacant land which the Board of Education already owns has recently been made available by the Board of Education to the Recreation Department for the John F. Kennedy Memorial Playground.

The playground is serving a very useful purpose, and the recreational opportunities it affords are badly needed.

So with these complex problems it appears that there can be no solution by any one department or agency of the government of the District of Columbia. In order to accomplish a proper solution without imposing undue hardship upon any segment of the local population it seems to me that the time has come when several agencies and departments must sit down and discuss this matter and undertake to work out a prompt solution.

I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that in view of the fact that Shaw Junior High School is located in an area which lends itself to urban renewal that the board of education, the District Commissioners, the Recreation Department, the Redevelopment Land Agency, the National Capital Planning Commission, the National Capital Housing Authority, and the President's Special Assistant on District Affairs should immediately consider the possibility of instituting effective measures to correct the situation surrounding Shaw Junior High School and the area in which it is located. It seems to me that it may be possible for an urban renewal project to be planned which would make land available for the building of a new school facility while the present Shaw Junior High School is being used and then upon the completion of the new facility to convert the real estate upon which the school is located into housing or some other appropriate use.

I think the time has come when positive action must be taken. The need for such action should be clear to any observer. It is certainly clear to those of us who have had a close relationship to

the many problems confronting the people of the District of Columbia.

As one Member of the Congress I express the hope that such action be forthwith considered and pledge my personal support in any way possible in accomplishing the elimination of an intolerable situation in our Nation's Capital.

(Mr. WHITENER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

### CUBAN IMMIGRATION

(Mr. FISHER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, while we all sympathize with the plight of the political refugees who want to escape Castro's communistic tyranny, the time would seem to be overdue when our friends and allies in the free world should share with us the responsibility for providing a home for these unfortunate people.

About a quarter of a million Cubans have already been admitted since Castro took over. Under the new program none in military age will be permitted to leave Cuba. Most of the new refugees will be the elderly, the young, the ill, and certain anti-Castro elements. The Associated Press has estimated that there are 50,000 of these people awaiting departure from the island. There may be more.

It would seem that the United States should insist upon other countries accepting more of the fleeing Cubans. What about Canada, Argentina, Australia, and many other nations which are quite capable of absorbing more immigrants? It will be recalled that we had a joint arrangement with other countries in the handling of European displaced persons following World War II. The United States accepted most of these refugees. That fact, plus the large numbers of Cubans already admitted, makes it even more imperative that our Government insist upon our allies sharing with us the solution of this problem.

### LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LAST 9½ MONTHS

(Mr. GILLIGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, at the close of this historic 1st session of the 89th Congress, most of the Nation's newspapers, magazines and journals have exhausted their glossaries of adjectives in describing the legislative achievements of the past 9½ months. "Hard working," "productive," "energetic," "imaginative," "precedent-shattering" are some of the terms used by the most respected and influential journals of the day in describing the 89th Congress, and although probably no single Member of the House is completely satisfied with everything that has been done in this Chamber since January, surely the overwhelming majority of the

Members must be highly gratified at the manner in which the House and its great committees have handled this torrent of legislation. Surely it must be acknowledged that the House has worked its will on these great programs, and that the actions of the Congress have reflected quite accurately the judgment and decision of the American people at the polls last November.

The discussion and debate about this great legislative program—begun in the committees and in the well of the House—will and should continue in the months and years ahead in all sections of the land. But if we are to maintain our traditions as a representative democracy, and if we are to continue to give an example to the other nations of the world—and especially the newly emerging nations who are tentatively groping their way toward responsible self-government—it is essential that the continuing political dialogue in America be conducted in a manner befitting a proud and free people, who have a great tradition of responsible self-government to defend and build upon. The manner in which we debate the course our Government should take in the months and years ahead is of paramount importance; reasoned discussion, buttressed by the careful analysis of the facts, is the minimal standard the American people should require in the debate of public issues. Certainly, loose talk, appeals to prejudice, inflammatory statements, scurrility, the resort to epithets, which, while distasteful, might have been tolerable in an earlier age, can no longer be acceptable in the public arena. All of the verbal paraphernalia of the hate groups and the extremists of every description must be resolutely shunned if our citizens are to have the opportunity to understand the problems which beset our society, and be enabled to make a reasoned and reasonable choice of solutions.

As an example of the kind of discussion of public affairs which contributes very little to the understanding of the issues and problems which confront the American people, I would like to quote from an article which was published in the Cincinnati Post and Times-Star on October 19, 1965:

Former Ohio Congressman Robert Taft, Jr., believes a major issue of the 1966 congressional campaign should be the abdication of its responsibility by the present "rubberstamp Congress."

In a talk before the Republican Forum in Denver, Colo., last night, Taft charged the present Congress has meekly surrendered the rights and duties of the legislative branch to the executive.

Congress has passed administration bills with little or no debate, Taft said, and has provided no effective examination or dissent of programs.

"At times the conduct of the present majority in Congress seems more in the tradition of Hitler's Reichstag than the long record of independence we have had on Capitol Hill," Taft said.

My distinguished colleagues on both sides of the aisle can, I am sure, decide for themselves how appropriate, and how enlightening, and how ennobling it is to compare this ancient and honorable

further consideration of H.R. 9336 and that the Senate proceed to immediate consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDENTIAL CLERK. A bill (H.R. 9336) to amend title V of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 relating to certain claims against the Government of Cuba.

The PRESIDENTIAL CLERK. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? Without objection, the Committee on Foreign Relations is discharged from further consideration of the bill.

Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to strike out all after the enacting clause in H.R. 9336 and substitute certain language therefor.

I should add, the language in the amendment which I am proposing is identical to that which is contained in S. 1826, the Cuban claims bill passed by the Senate on September 21.

The PRESIDENTIAL CLERK. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to strike out all after the enacting clause and substitute the following:

That section 501 of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 (22 U.S.C. 1643) is amended—

(1) by striking out "which have arisen out of debts for merchandise furnished or services rendered by nationals of the United States without regard to the date on which such merchandise was furnished or services were rendered or"; and

Sec. 2. Section 503 (a) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643b(a)) is amended by striking out "arising out of debts for merchandise furnished or services rendered by nationals of the United States without regard to the date on which such merchandise was furnished or services were rendered or".

Sec. 3. Section 505(a) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643d) is amended by adding a new sentence at the end thereof as follows: "A claim under section 503(a) of this title based upon a debt or other obligation owing by any corporation, association, or other entity organized under the laws of the United States, or of any State, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico shall be considered only when such debt or other obligation is a charge on property which has been nationalized, expropriated, intervened, or taken by the Government of Cuba."

Sec. 4. Section 506 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643e) is amended by striking out "Provided, That the deduction of such amounts shall not be construed as divesting the United States of any rights against the Government of Cuba for the amounts so deducted".

Sec. 5. Section 511 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643j) is amended to read as follows:

#### "APPROPRIATIONS"

"Sec. 511. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to enable the Commission to pay its administrative expenses incurred in carrying out its functions under this title."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

## PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I wish to express my support of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 17, as previously passed by the U.S. Senate, which is now awaiting concurrence by the Senate with House amendments. This resolution, expressing the sense of the Congress in condemnation of the persecution of Jewish citizens by the U.S.S.R., is a measure of the indignation aroused in many areas of the world by the discriminatory treatment being accorded its Jewish minority by the Soviet Government.

By focusing the attention of the world on the restrictive treatment accorded to Russian Jewry, there may be some hope of greater relaxation of the rigid regulations on the religious practices of that faith and other faiths.

It is not surprising to me when the U.S.S.R., as a basically atheistic nation, acts to repress those who profess religious beliefs. I can but hope that the Soviet Government, in an effort to enhance its public image abroad, may make it easier for Jewish citizens and others to practice their respective faiths. Actually, I am told that action in recent times to permit the printing of approximately 10,000 Yiddish prayerbooks represented some concession, although, admittedly, a small one in view of the approximately 2½ million Jews in Soviet Russia. I am also informed that representatives of the Yiddish theater groups have been permitted some travel among parts of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, all church groups are heavily restricted in Russia, although, perhaps, the Russian Orthodox Church fares better than others as it does have an organization in Russia.

Visitors to that country report that while the synagogues are poor in appearance, the Baptist Church also is in poor condition.

Again, I wish to associate myself with the pending resolution condemning the persecution of persons by Soviet Russia because of their religion. I am proud to have served as one of its cosponsors.

## THE PRESIDENT'S LAWYER

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Attorney General of the United States, Nicholas Katzenbach, has won the respect and admiration of a great many people both in and out of Washington. His efforts on behalf of the Voting Rights Act passed this year, as well as other actions on behalf of justice for all our citizens, have won acclaim from leaders in the race relations field across the Nation. We are fortunate to have such a competent man of convictions and skills as head of the Justice Department.

A recent issue of the Indianapolis Star presented a profile view of Mr. Katzenbach in an appraisal written by Joseph E. Mohbat, of the Associated Press. I ask unanimous consent that this article, subtitled "The President's Lawyer," be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## THE PRESIDENT'S LAWYER—NICK KATZENBACH OUTLINES HIS FOUR MAIN GOALS

(By Joseph E. Mohbat)

WASHINGTON.—One of the newest weekend visitors to President Johnson's retreat at Camp David, Md., is a bald-pated, tall, somewhat disheveled man who—according to Washington gossip—wasn't supposed to last long enough to get his name on the big office door in the Department of Justice.

Nicholas deBelleville Katzenbach, the 65th Attorney General of the United States, has by all signs won the esteem of the Chief Executive.

The President, according to some, looks upon the 43-year-old lawyer as one of the brainiest men in government today.

Yet, for 5 months Nicholas Katzenbach cooled his heels, holding the title of Deputy Attorney General and hearing the stories that Lyndon Baines Johnson would most certainly bring in another man to replace Robert F. Kennedy. Kennedy was leaving last year to run for the Senate from New York, and the notion was that Mr. Johnson felt Katzenbach was too closely identified with Kennedy.

But in January Katzenbach got the word. He was going to be Attorney General. As such, he became a member of the Cabinet, "the President's lawyer" so to speak, and head of the Department of Justice. The Department, with 30,000 employees, runs such wide-ranging affairs as the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, antitrust prosecutions, enforcement of civil rights legislation, the Bureau of Prisons, and the U.S. marshals.

What does Katzenbach have to say about his job? What are his goals as the Nation's highest law officer?

"It's hard to talk about it generally," he says, "except for my obvious feeling that it's terribly important to achieve an even-handed administration of justice, and that it be done entirely on merits."

"I guess there are four things I'd really like to accomplish, if I have enough days, months, or years allotted to me here:

"I think our fiscal and administrative system in the Department is outmoded, and I'd like to do something like Secretary McNamara did over at Defense. I'd like to know how much it costs us to administer justice, and thus I'd know a lot more about my Department. I'd like to know, for instance, to what extent we could use computers on the Immigration Service or the FBI."

"I'd like to come as near as possible to clearing up civil rights problems enough so that you almost wouldn't need a civil rights division in this Department to insure that Constitutional guarantees are being enforced. This would be best for the country, certainly."

"It would be hard to find anything more important than the job to be done on the crime front. (Katzenbach heads the newly formed National Crime Commission.) We're going to step up the drive against organized crime. I want to see what we can do with crime in the streets."

"And I'd like to see whether we can come up with a good, rational, coherent, effective, and understandable antitrust policy. Perhaps we simply haven't articulated it well enough in the past. But I think the influence of our antitrust division should go far beyond actual cases; it should influence and reflect the economic policies of the Government."

The President's lawyer pauses a moment, then says:

"I don't know—perhaps I've bitten off more than I can chew. But I'd sure like to try it."

As a public official, Katzenbach is admired by his supporters for two main reasons: his gift as a conciliator, and his will-

hearings on S. 597 showed the plight of our health science libraries. The American Medical Association presented the findings of a 1964 study that showed:

Only 15 of the 87 medical school libraries have sufficient space;

More than one-half of the medical school libraries were built prior to 1933;

As long ago as 1957 more than one-half of the medical school libraries were filled to capacity or had exceeded their capacity;

Only 14 of 87 existing medical schools have the recommended level of 100,000 volumes on their library shelves; and

There are 6,000 health science libraries but only 3,000 librarians with specialized training or experience in the health science library field.

The rapid rate at which we are accumulating new medical knowledge makes it imperative that we take action now to strengthen and expand our health science libraries.

#### CONSTRUCTION

S. 597 would authorize an aggregate of \$50 million over a 4-year period, 1967-70, for grants to nonprofit institutions to pay up to 75 percent of the costs of constructing health science library facilities.

#### TRAINING, RESEARCH, BASIC RESOURCES

The legislation would also authorize appropriations of \$45 million for the 5 years 1966-70 to finance first, training of health science library personnel; second, assistance to special scientific projects dealing with advancements in the sciences related to health; third, research and development in health library science; fourth, improvement of basic library resources; and fifth, temporary support for scientific publications.

#### REGIONAL HEALTH SCIENCE LIBRARIES

To supplement health science library services, the bill authorizes appropriations of \$22.5 million over the fiscal years 1966-70 to establish and maintain regional health science libraries. The need for regional service has become acute with the growth in the size of the medical literature. It is neither economically feasible nor necessary for each medical library to try to build its collection to encompass even a sizable part of the whole of medical literature.

In total S. 597 authorizes appropriations amounting to \$117.5 million over the 5 years 1966-70. The legislation is supported by the Medical Library Association, the Association of Research Libraries, the Special Libraries Association, the Chairman of the Board of Regents of the National Library of Medicine, the Association of American Medical Colleges, the American College of Physicians, the American Heart Association, the American Medical Association, the American Dental Association, and the Medical Library Center of New York. Many other associations, universities, colleges, and individuals contacted the committee in writing to express their support for S. 597.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to join

the Senator from Alabama, who has done such great work in this field. As the Senator knows, I have been active in title II of the Higher Education Act, trying to do something in connection with library facilities. This is another step in the same area, which I congratulate the Senator on accomplishing.

I raised one question prior to this time, which is a fundamental principle, so far as I am concerned, whether we had a limiting authorization for each year, or whether the authorization was open ended. My understanding is that the committee changed it so that it is a limiting authorization; Is that not correct?

Mr. HILL. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HILL. Let me take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Senator from Colorado for the fine help which he gave in having the bill acted upon by the committee.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to have been able to cooperate.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. HILL. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I wish to express my congratulations and compliments to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] for his leadership in carrying through the present bill before the Senate to the point of passage, which is about to take place.

As the Senator from Alabama knows, we on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, which has jurisdiction over all education legislation, are very much concerned with the problem which confronts us in connection with the libraries of the United States.

There are various educational institutions, as the Senator from Colorado has just pointed out, in the higher education bill, S. 600—in regard to which we go to conference with the House tomorrow—which has a title devoted to the question of providing Federal assistance to institutions of higher learning in this country, in an endeavor to raise library standards and to provide more adequate facilities for the students of the country.

One of the features of that kind of bill is a provision that will be of assistance to the Library of Congress, providing funds and facilities so that the Library of Congress can be of assistance to the college libraries of the country—public libraries also for that matter—in helping them to improve their library services.

The need, however, for assistance to medical libraries is just as great, and it falls under the jurisdiction of the subcommittee of the Senate committee, over which the chairman of the full committee also serves as chairman of the subcommittee.

The bill the Senate is considering stands in the same class, in my opinion, with the title of the higher education bill which provides similar assistance to the libraries of the country. I am very glad that the Senator has been persistent in regard to this matter.

Let me say to the medical profession that this is another example of Federal

aid which the medical profession has received from the taxpayers of the country for decades. This is another example that proves the position I have taken over many years, when I have listened to doctors opposing medical care legislation, that their memories are short, that the assistance and aid which the Federal Government has given them over the years, in payment of part of their medical expenses, and providing the laboratories and facilities so that they could become doctors, puts them, in my judgment, in an untenable position when Congress seeks to come to the health assistance of the needy and aged of this country with a medical care bill.

Be that as it may, I wish the doctors of this country to know that once again I can be counted upon to come to their assistance in seeing to it that facilities are provided so that we can continue to train the best doctors in the world. I say that because American doctors are the best doctors in the world. The trouble is that a great many of them lack a social conscience.

Mr. HILL. Let me say to the Senator from Oregon that he has rendered a great service in behalf of having the committee report the bill favorably to the Senate. He is here now to vote for passage of the bill. He has rendered outstanding service in the passage of the higher education bill, which does so much for libraries generally throughout the country, and which will be of vast significance and great help to these libraries.

I express my appreciation to him for what he has done to help in the passage of the pending bill, and also for the great work he did in passage of the higher education bill, which will do so much for libraries generally.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be agreed to en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the committee amendments will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "An Act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a program of grants to assist in meeting the need for adequate health science library services and facilities."

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the bill was passed be reconsidered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

#### AMENDMENT OF TITLE V OF THE INTERNATIONAL CLAIMS SETTLEMENT ACT OF 1949 RELATING TO CERTAIN CLAIMS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Relations be discharged from



me, constitute a grave mistake of major and lasting consequences."

The present outlook for the home rule bill is that this prophecy will be put to the test.

**Ike Speaks Out: Bay of Pigs Was All J.F.K.'s**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF**

**HON. JOHN W. WYDLER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently our Nation has been flooded by biographical sketches of the late President John F. Kennedy. Included in these biographies are the authors' respective versions of the late President's intimate musings, deliberations, reasoning, and conclusions over the episode of the Bay of Pigs. These biographies refer to former President Eisenhower's role during his administration in events leading up to the Bay of Pigs denouement.

With these words, the editor and publisher of Newsday, Harry F. Guggenheim, introduced a truly remarkable interview with President Eisenhower on the part he played long before the tragedy of the Bay of Pigs.

President Eisenhower, in the interest of historic accuracy, has given the public facts about these earlier events. At a recent meeting at Gettysburg with Mr. Guggenheim and Mr. Earl Mazo, President Eisenhower gave his account of the situation as it existed when he left the White House. I consider this a truly remarkable document and one which will set the record straight on this most important event on the history of our Nation.

The interview follows:

**IKE SPEAKS OUT: BAY OF PIGS WAS ALL J.F.K.'S**

(By Earl Mazo)

After our country's humiliation at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, Republican ex-President Eisenhower's only comment was to call for bipartisan unity behind Democratic President Kennedy. That was in keeping with Eisenhower's lifelong practice of supporting the Nation's Commander in Chief in times of crises.

Over the years General Eisenhower has demonstrated little taste for political partisanship and absolutely none for partisan excesses. In fact, he usually has ignored politically tinged distortions on his performance as President, military leader, and elder statesman.

Now, however, he feels it would be well to set the record straight on at least a couple of items in recent intimate histories of the Kennedy administration, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Theodore C. Sorenson, ranking members of Kennedy's staff. The general and several of his knowledgeable former Government associates view the Schlesinger and Sorenson attempts to link the Eisenhower administration with the Cuba invasion fiasco and discredit Eisenhower-appointed military and intelligence experts as a perversion of history and a disservice to the late President Kennedy, who never sought to

duck responsibility for his executive decisions.

The specifically disputed material by both writers is summed up in this paragraph from the Sorenson version: "On January 20, 1961, John Kennedy inherited the plan, the planners, and most troubling of all, the Cuban exile brigade. \* \* \* Unlike an inherited policy statement or Executive order, this inheritance could not be simply disposed of by Presidential rescission or withdrawal."

Eisenhower declares, "There was no tactical or operational plan even discussed" as of the day he turned the Presidency over to John Kennedy. During the transition period between the election in November 1960, and the inauguration in January 1961, Eisenhower reviewed for his successor all pending matters, including a secret program inaugurated less than a year before to equip and train anti-Castro Cuban refugees. The retiring President stressed that there had been no decisions as to how the Cuban forces would be used, if at all. Eisenhower had made no commitments that might bind the new President in dealing with the Castro problem. In fact, the armed refugee group was still so small and relatively unprepared that it could easily have been disbanded if the incoming administration considered its existence unnecessary.

As for the nonpolitical experts Kennedy chose to retain for his administration—notably Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the military Joint Chiefs of Staff—Eisenhower says: "These men over decades of devoted service have shown their capabilities, their sense of logic, their understanding of the problems involved in this kind of venture. There is no more expert group in their profession than these men \* \* \* I had the greatest confidence in them."

Nothing the former President was told by Kennedy and others after the Bay-of-Pigs debacle diminished his faith and confidence in Dulles and the military chiefs. On the other hand, he believes the very disparagement of these seasoned professionals shows how unqualified the former Presidential assistants were to deal with the sort of problem involved in a critical international venture like the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Like most Americans, President Eisenhower welcomed the end of the Batista dictatorship in 1959 and hoped the new regime of Fidel Castro would live up to its promises of free elections and democracy in the exotic island republic just 8 jet minutes from Florida. Within a year, however, Castro created a dictatorship that was worse even than Batista's and President Eisenhower had concluded that strong measures might be required to thwart what appeared to be Castro's intention of establishing an outpost for Communist subversion in the Western Hemisphere.

Exactly what would have to be done—and when—remained to be thought out and decided. But the gravity of the situation neither awed nor frightened those facing it. Eisenhower and his administration's military and intelligence experts were not strangers to the nuances of contending with Communist intrusion in Latin America. Ex-Dictator Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, whose efforts to make Guatemala a haven for the Soviets led to his downfall in 1954, would bear witness to that.

In mid-March 1960, President Eisenhower decided that the United States would secretly aid anti-Castro Cubans. The CIA was directed to train and equip volunteers at bases in Guatemala, Panama, and southern Florida. The covert military instruction program was started partly in response to pleas by hundreds of refugees for something constructive to do. It was felt training would bolster the spirits of thousands who

were fleeing the Castro dictatorship, and would give them hope that, in time, they would be able to do the job of ousting the Communist regime.

In essence, the long-range Eisenhower policy was to encourage and prepare Cubans to liberate their country. President Eisenhower kept in close touch with developments through the summer and autumn, and personally reviewed numerous ideas and suggestions that normally would have been sifted out before reaching the White House. (For example, he rejected a proposal that the Cubans be trained in Samoa to insure tighter security than was possible in Central America.)

In recalling that period, the general notes the Bay of Pigs was never mentioned or considered in discussions of possible alternatives and contingencies. Most attention focused on prospects for an operation of some sort in or near the Escambray Mountains where a government in exile might establish itself on Cuban soil.

Before there could be serious planning, however, the Cubans needed not only a well-supplied fighting force but also the leadership to organize a functioning government in exile. The leader or leaders had to be recognized and accepted by the Cuban people. That eliminated experienced individuals from the Batista regime and several leaders of peppery political factions who bristled at the thought of cooperating or sharing the glory of overthrowing Castro.

The Cubans were still without their own leadership when President Eisenhower retired and President Kennedy was inaugurated as America's Commander in Chief. In Washington, the changeover of Executive command, with Democrats replacing Republicans in nearly every key position throughout the Government, was the smoothest in modern times. The harmonious transition was directed by the President and President-elect.

The departing administration could not avoid bequeathing certain critical problems to its successor. But efforts were made to lighten burdens, where possible. There was, for instance, the last minute Eisenhower directive ordering thousands of dependents of overseas service personnel returned to the United States. A review of the international trade and monetary situation convinced Eisenhower that America's worsening balance-of-payments position would require drastic action sooner or later. Since the everyday spending of service families added up to an enormous annual dollar drain, the recall of dependents was among priority measures Treasury officials expected the Kennedy administration to consider. By issuing the recall directive himself, Eisenhower took the onus for that unpopular action, and spared the new President.

The balance-of-payments situation was one of three major unresolved problems Eisenhower reviewed at length for Kennedy at transition sessions. The Communist threat in Laos and Castro's Cuba were the others. "I told him exactly what we had been doing (in the Cuban refugee program)," recalls Eisenhower, "and pinpointed the centers at which approximately 500 men were then being trained."

Eisenhower felt that Kennedy shared his judgment that the new administration need not rush a decision regarding the Cubans. "At no time did I put before anybody anything that could be called a plan (to invade Cuba)," declares the former President. He emphasizes that there was "no mandate, no commitment by me or anyone in my administration," and he doubts that Kennedy felt "he was frozen to any position by me."

Among Eisenhower's last words to Kennedy before the ceremonial ride up Pennsylvania Avenue to the inauguration was: "You

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

September 24, 1965

people will have to decide what to do." The two men did not speak with each other again for 3 months. Then, after the Bay of Pigs disaster, Kennedy hurriedly invited the general to Camp David and sent a White House helicopter to Gettysburg for him.

Kennedy stated he sought the visit to "bring (Eisenhower) up to date on recent events and get the benefit of his thoughts and experience." The President met the former President at the landing pad. It was April 22. (The Bay of Pigs invasion had begun on April 17, and within a day or two Castro had wiped it out.) Eisenhower recalls that Kennedy seemed quite composed, but eager to talk out his young administration's humiliating experience.

It was a long and wide-ranging conversation. Like many military figures who had no inside information as to what happened, the general wondered whether the invasion really had been launched, as reported, without air cover and other elementary ingredients familiar even to junior officers, like plans for reinforcing and resupplying the beachhead.

At one point Eisenhower asked his host if the Joint Chiefs of Staff had approved the battle plan. Kennedy nodded and said, "with a few changes." Among other things, Kennedy explained, the original plan had been trimmed to avoid letting the world see "America's hand" in the operation. Eisenhower suggested that the country's prestige and power should never be committed unless its Chief Executive was determined to win. "There is no alternative," said the general. "Force is a naked, brutal thing in this world. If you are going to use it, you have got to be prepared to go all the way."

That afternoon Eisenhower stated at a news conference that all Americans should "support the man who has to carry the responsibility for our foreign affairs"—meaning, President Kennedy. Subsequently, the former Republican President publicly reaffirmed his backing of the Democratic President at every opportunity, including Republican political gatherings, until the crisis atmosphere abated.

While reflecting recently on the blunders that insured defeat at the Bay of Pigs—and thus entrenching, instead of overthrowing the Castro dictatorship—Eisenhower was reminded that Guatemala probably still would be a Communist stronghold if political advice had prevailed during a crucial stage of the anti-Arbenz venture in 1954, as happened during the anti-Castro venture in 1961.

The invasion of Guatemala, which was led and conducted by Guatemalan volunteers but covertly sponsored and supplied by the United States, floundered just as it was on the brink of success. The crisis stemmed from sudden lack of air support. Two of the liberating force's three aircraft had been destroyed, and without replacements the invasion would be doomed.

In Washington, President Eisenhower summoned military, intelligence and diplomatic experts. A State Department spokesman argued for a political, not a military decision. He contended that by sending replacement aircraft to Guatemala, America would risk having its role in the anti-Arbenz venture discovered, and that, in turn, would damage our prestige throughout Latin America.

Allen Dulles, the intelligence director whose agency was masterminding the invasion, argued that the airplanes were essential to success—and therefore should be sent. President Eisenhower agreed with Dulles. And a couple of days later the Communist regime in Guatemala was overthrown. Eisenhower's reasoning in that crisis was consistent with the advice he offered President Kennedy 9 years later. "If our hand had been discovered, then it was more important than ever that we win," he said.

## U.S. Office of Education: A Growing Federal Bureaucratic Octopus

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following two editorials from the Chicago Tribune which should be a source of deep concern to the legislators of this country, as well as to every citizen and school board member in the United States:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Sept. 22, 1965]

#### FEDERAL TENTACLES IN THE SCHOOLS

Representative ROBERT H. MICHEL, of Illinois, has come upon a secret memorandum which he says is proof that the Federal Government "is insidiously planning a complete takeover" of our public school systems.

The memo contains the minutes of a recent meeting of the Office of Education and deals with the agency's "future role and responsibilities" in relation to State and local agencies. It states that "no Office of Education hand is to be tied down by (1) having to deal only through a backward State education agency, or (2) not being able to deal directly with urban jurisdictions, however competent the State agency, when direct relationships seem most in the public interest."

The Illinois Republican has run into a curtain of silent in his efforts to find out why the Office of Education is so eager to bypass "backward" (meaning, no doubt, uncooperative) State agencies. If its motives are innocent and are consistent with the Government's repeated assurances that Federal aid will not mean Federal control of education, then why the secrecy?

Mr. MICHEL thinks that there is "something to hide," and with good reason. The Office of Education's hand has already begun to wander into affairs not properly its own. Two out of every five high school physics students, Mr. MICHEL says, are using textbooks prepared under Federal auspices. Federalization is even spreading to the humanities. One Office of Education official has talked of designing "the total English curriculum from kindergarten through college years."

Beyond this, the Office of Education has ordered hearings to determine whether Federal funds should be denied to school districts in six Southern States which are accused of fail to desegregate. The Supreme Court has ruled that the deliberate segregation is a matter for Federal concern; but is the Office of Education, which is supposedly dedicated to improving education, the proper agency to carry out social reforms which are often likely to detract from the quality of education? The Office of Education has been nagging at Chicago's school officials—not for failing to desegregate, but apparently for failing to bring about forced integration, which is not a matter for Federal concern at all and is bound to interfere with the quality of education.

In short, the evidence is all too clear that the Federal Government intends to use Federal aid as a means of exerting control over State and local school affairs and that the Office of Education's interests will not even be confined to academic matters.

A wise Supreme Court ruled in 1936 that "the power to confer or withhold unlimited benefits is the power to coerce or destroy." A more subservient and less wise Supreme

Court ruled 6 years later that it is wholly proper "for the Government to regulate that which it subsidizes." Once the subsidies start, control is sure to follow—despite all protestations to the contrary. We said so from the beginning, but the control has come even faster than we thought.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 24, 1965]

#### SCHOOL BRAINWASHING

"Just who's writing those classroom tests?" asks the Republican congressional committee newsletter, with reference to some items in nationally used intelligence tests and current events periodicals. The newsletter cites a series of objective test items in which the answers offered convey explicitly or implicitly partisan conclusions.

This can be done in both of two ways. Answers which only a blindly proadministration Democrat could accept as statements of fact are called correct. (Example: "The President's Great Society is a place where America is growing richer, stronger, happier, and wiser." True or false? Approved answer: True.)

Replies which testmakers concede to be false present a disparaging but presumably plausible image of Republicans, one which will influence many youngsters who will never come back to the item to consider which responses are wrong and why. (Example: "A club that accepts only very rich members is said to be (a) snobbish, (b) exclusive, (c) conservative, (d) Republican, (e) un-American." Approved answer: "Exclusive," but meanwhile "Republican" has been associated with such negative terms as "snobbish" and "un-American.")

Nationally published objective tests are extremely popular with school authorities for a number of reasons. They are inexpensive, require no local effort in preparation, and no thought in grading. Also, they save time. But they are easy to manipulate in such partisan ways as the Republican newsletter rightly decries. And they are inherently too oversimplified for the complexities and ambiguities of judgments in the social studies. An instrument that may work well in arithmetic does not necessarily work well in political science.

However, objective tests will be used, and they will be less than thoroughly objective. If they are to be loaded to a minimum extent, publishers should insist (as obviously they are not always doing) on having representatives of differing views examine politically significant items. If a reasonable man of strong views protests an item as unfair to his party or his principles, perhaps that item should not be put before children to be rated as right or wrong, true or false.

As educators generally want Federal handouts that Republicans for the most part oppose, any bias in school tests is likely to be against Republicans rather than for them. Republicans especially have reason to be vigilant against the intrusion into the schools of whitewash and smear. And educators who care about truth will do well to minimize their reliance on devices that invite oversimplification.

### Constitution Week

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, on this, the last day of Constitution

# Daily Digest

## HIGHLIGHTS

First session of Eighty-ninth Congress adjourned sine die.

## Senate

### Chamber Action

**Routine Proceedings,** pages 27115-27140, 27364

**Bills Introduced:** 31 bills and 11 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2701-2731; S.J. Res. 122; and S. Res. 155-164. Pages 27117-27118, 27347-27348

**Bills Reported:** Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 10878, private bill (S. Rept. 932);

H. Con. Res. 509, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on crime in D.C. (S. Rept. 933);

H. Con. Res. 512, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on D.C. home rule (S. Rept. 934);

H. Con. Res. 513, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on "Lower Colorado River Basin Project," 89th Congress, 1st session (S. Rept. 935);

H. Con. Res. 519, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on H.R. 2580, proposing various amendments to the immigration and nationality laws (S. Rept. 936);

H.R. 30, providing for U.S. participation in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., without recommendation, and with amendments and minority views (S. Rept. 937); and

H.R. 4845, to provide for the economic and efficient acquisition and use of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies (S. Rept. 938). Pages 27117, 27347

**Measures Referred:** Numerous House-passed bills and House-passed resolutions were referred to appropriate committees. Page 27162

**Authority To Report:** Committee on Government Operations was authorized to file reports during congressional adjournment and that its report on Inter-agency Drug Coordination be printed as a Senate document. Page 27136

**Private Bill:** Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment to S. 619, private bill. Page 27139

**Secretary of the Senate:** Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, was administered oath of office as Secretary of the Senate to become effective January 1, 1966. Page 27163

In connection with this matter, Senate adopted three resolutions, as follows:

S. Res. 156, notifying House of election of Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Senate, effective January 1, 1966;

S. Res. 157, notifying President of election of Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Senate, effective January 1, 1966; and

S. Res. 158, authorizing the printing as a Senate document of a compilation of tributes delivered in Congress on the occasion of the retirement of Secretary of the Senate Felton M. Johnston, of Mississippi. Page 27163

**Federal Employees' Pay:** Senate passed, by unanimous vote of 67 yeas, H.R. 10281, proposed Government Employees Salary Comparability Act of 1965, after adopting committee amendments en bloc, including two of a technical clarifying nature offered on the floor by Senator Monroney. Pages 27165-27176

**Alaska Exposition:** Senate passed with amendments S. 2614, to provide for participation in the Statewide Exposition to be held in Alaska during 1967, after adopting committee amendments en bloc, which were then considered as original text for purpose of further amendment, and Williams (Delaware) amendment to reduce authorization for project from \$4 million to \$3 million. Motion to reconsider passage of this bill was tabled. Pages 27184-27190

**Coast Guard:** S. 2471, to amend in several regards the laws relating to the administration of the Coast Guard, was passed with committee amendments. Pages 27181-27183

**Printing:** Senate concurred in House amendment to Senate amendment to S. Con. Res. 65, to authorize printing as a Senate document of a study entitled "The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement," prepared for use of Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. This completed legislative action on the resolution. Page 27221

It was ordered that report of the majority on activities and accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress be printed as a Senate document. Page 27221

**89th Congress Summary:** It was ordered that reports on behalf of the minority respecting laws and treaties of general interest, activities of the 1st session of the 89th

the limelight in Cuba has led to widespread speculation, is actively directing the subversion campaign in Latin America and has been traveling from one hemisphere country to another.

A former secretary general of the Bank Employees Union of Havana, Alvarez de la Campa came to Panama at the invitation of the Labor Confederation to attend a congress held Sunday. He called on President Marco A. Robles yesterday to present him with a certificate of recognition from the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Labor Front.

He plans to leave for Central America soon.

## Anarchy—A Major Threat Today

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, Albert Schlossberg, National Editor of the Jewish Veteran, in an editorial in the September 1965 issue gave a well-reasoned analysis of the law and order issue facing this Nation today.

With the automatic cry of police brutality being used by many lawless elements to cover their activities, articles such as written by Mr. Schlossberg are most welcome.

The article follows:

#### ANARCHY—A MAJOR THREAT TODAY?

(By Albert Schlossberg)

America has been especially blessed, for the framers of the Constitution saw to it that we would have a strong framework of rules and regulations to bind us together as an intelligent society. Deep-rooted in that Constitution has been an ever-present, firm respect for law and order.

Of late I have heard murmurs, from many sources, that perhaps this traditional American philosophy is outmoded. Manifestations of the conundrum have cropped up in scattered sections of the United States, and in some quarters we have heard "We'll only obey the laws that we agree with."

Is this the first crack in the dike that has kept America immune from any threat of anarchy? Let's explore the issue, without taking sides and see where our investigation leads us.

From a neutral vantage point I'd like to examine one facet of our society that seems to be in danger of an imminent breakdown, the relationship of the citizen, you and me, to the people charged with the duty to protect us, the police departments, local and State. The catalyst in this instance seems to be a catch-phrase, often loosely used, "police brutality."

Well, what about "police brutality"? What happens in your mind when you hear those two words? Do you think of Hitler's storm troopers? Stalin's O.G.P.U. or Bull Connor's "special deputies"?

When is a police officer "brutal"? Just how far can the representative of the law go in the pursuit of his duties? The training manuals of almost all police departments in the United States contain instruction indicating that the officers are authorized to use "reasonably necessary" force when making

an arrest. The policeman is warned that it is not his duty to "punish" a suspect by using unnecessary force. It is made clear to the law enforcement personnel that under the American system a suspect is considered innocent until proven guilty to the satisfaction of a judge or jury.

Perhaps you saw the same TV news broadcast that I did the other evening. A reporter was interviewing a young man who had been injured while participating in a demonstration in a northern city. The young man explained how he had been injured and then concluded by stating, in response to a query, that the participants in the demonstration had been "instructed to chant 'police brutality' if a police officer attempted to place them in custody."

Let's not delude ourselves; of course, if we examine the record we will find that among the nearly 200,000 policemen in the United States there certainly are some who are brutal and we will also find, it seems to me, a sadist or two who get their kicks out of beating up on a prisoner. However, you will also find many dedicated individuals doing an often thankless job that you or I would refuse to accept. By and large the cop on the beat or in the patrol car is no different from a cross section of any profession, or selected group in our modern-day society—some good, some bad, some mediocre, and mostly average citizens.

The policeman's lot is not an easy one. In the United States, in 1964, 18,000 policemen were assaulted in line of duty. Of the 18,000, 57 were murdered and nearly 8,000 received serious injuries.

Several communities seem to be on the right track in their search for an answer to the charge of police brutality. Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas, and Washington, D.C., to name a few, have standard procedures set up to handle investigation of any charges of brutality that may be made against the members of their departments. Philadelphia has adopted a policy of an "all civilian" review board, while others believe that the best approach to the problem is through an "all police" board or a combination of the two, a "civilian-police" committee. Each of the plans has some merit, and as a result of their diligent search for the right way progress is being made.

Washington, D.C., has a method of handling complaints of police brutality that, at this distance, looks pretty good. In the vernacular, it is "put up or shut up." Translated into more acceptable language it simply means that if you have a legitimate complaint against a police officer and wish to press the charge you must file a sworn affidavit. In 1964, as a result of this policy, 11 complaints were filed with the review board. Of the 11 officers charged, the complaint against 2 was dropped before it reached the board, 2 policemen were found innocent and 7 were found guilty. No whitewash there, according to those statistics, at least.

Until the millennium is reached and the world becomes completely civilized we need police to protect us from ourselves, and from each other. It is a thankless, nasty job at best, usually underpaid and often maligned by disgruntled citizens who have a personal "beef" against an individual officer.

Under conditions such as these, the police deserve all of the support that we can give them. We must recognize their shortcomings, hold them responsible for their actions, but make them aware of the fact that we, the civilians, will guard their right to the same principle that we cherish, to be considered innocent until proven guilty.

## Statement on Behalf of Bernard L. Boutin

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago President Johnson nominated Mr. Bernard L. Boutin to become the Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, an extremely important and sensitive post in the war on poverty. The strongest testimony to Mr. Boutin's qualifications is the fact that the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee did not require hearings before approving his nomination. For this reason, I was unable to testify on behalf of my long-time friend. I therefore place in the Record, the statement I had prepared on his behalf:

Mr. Chairman, my name is J. OLIVA HUOT, Congressman from the 1st Congressional District of New Hampshire.

It is a distinct privilege and honor for me to appear before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee in support of the nomination of my long-time friend, Bernard L. Boutin, as Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

When I served on the school board in the city of Laconia, N.H., Bernard Boutin was the mayor. This gave me an excellent opportunity to observe closely the outstanding administrative ability and selfless devotion to public service that are the hallmarks of this man.

From the mayor of Laconia, Bernard Boutin was picked by the late President John F. Kennedy to become the Administrator of the General Services Administration. This was a remarkable jump—from mayor of a city of 15,000 to management of a billion-dollar agency. Yet, I have heard nothing but praise and admiration for the job he did—both from those who served under him and those who were affected by the activities of GSA.

More recently, as executive vice president of the National Association of Home Builders, his guidance and leadership significantly contributed to the passage of the housing bill of 1965 and the bill to establish the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs.

Bernard Boutin is unquestionably qualified for this job. He is also unquestionably devoted to service of his country and particularly aware and sensitive to the acute human problems with which he will be dealing.

The people of New Hampshire are justifiably proud of Bernard Boutin. I am proud of him and I know that as Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity the entire country will be equally proud.

I urge speedy confirmation of this outstanding appointment.

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Therefore, I am delighted to insert in the Record the following official statement by Gov. John Dempsey:

CONNECTICUT TRIBUTE TO SAMUEL F. PRYOR, JR., OCTOBER 12, 1965

Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., of Greenwich, one of Connecticut's most distinguished citizens, is known throughout the world both for his prominence in the aviation industry and for great humanitarian service to his fellowmen.

Now that he is retiring after many years of outstanding service as an official of Pan American World Airways, it is fitting that we accord due recognition to Sam Pryor and pay him the tribute he so justly deserves.

Men and women in all walks of life, in cities in virtually all the countries of the world, know Sam Pryor as a leading citizen of the State of Connecticut.

In two wars in which our Nation has been involved, fighting for the preservation of our way of life and for the principles of freedom and justice, Sam Pryor has rendered conspicuous and highly important service.

Beyond all this, moreover, Sam Pryor has been a real friend to countless numbers of people. Appeals for assistance in any cause benefiting mankind always have received from him a ready response.

For all of these reasons, and because he is a man in whom we of Connecticut take much pride, we salute Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., both as a great citizen of our State and as a truly great American.

JOHN DEMPSEY,  
Governor.

### Everybody in the Club

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Lucius Beebe, in his article published in the San Francisco Chronicle, on October 19, gives a very vivid description of the "Great Society," in which he emphasizes the ultimate result of such a society as now contemplated by the administration. His column follows:

#### EVERYBODY IN THE CLUB

(By Lucius Beebe)

When the American scheme of things, already factually bankrupted by a long succession of giveaway administrations and now steering a collision course with absolute collapse, achieves the end for which its politicians have headed it: a society of consumers with no producers and no incentive to produce, the startling thing will, to the historical perception, be the equanimity and good cheer with which a once great people approached their own dissolution.

Other civilizations have gone down, most of them fighting. But it took the Roman Empire a full thousand years to be liquidated and even the British Empire, wantonly destroyed within the memory of living generations, didn't liquidate itself without an argument.

The United States is going down the drain of history with complete equanimity and in a plethora of idiot slogans. Some of them like the so-called free speech issue and civil rights are so abundantly meaningless since the goals and aims they envisioned were already in universal practice and availability as to be merely patently spurious. But "the Great Society," which if it is only fractionally achieved will spell the social and economic end of the United States as a com-

ponent of organized world power, is fraught with persuasive mendacity.

The basic philosophy of President Johnson's ideal is, of course, the purchase for material considerations of the perpetuity in office of the Democratic looters of the American economy. Its belief is that abundant and rich rewards of every sort, not merely the opportunity for their achievement, should be made available to absolutely everybody with no regard for his own investment of labor, intelligence or responsibility.

In other words everybody is going to be a member of the country club set without the troublesome bother of lifting a finger to deserve it. This is what President Johnson means by the Great Society. Just who, in this benevolent scheme of immortality for the Democratic Party, is going to produce the material abundance on which the vision is predicated doesn't bother the Presidential mentality. A single monolithic electorate of 200 million voters all supporting the straight Democratic ticket on the basis of the cash favors of the administration is all that concerns the planners in Washington. Having already destroyed the value of money, they now propose the destruction of competition and a scheme of economic and social rewards that has hitherto been based on the individual investment of work and intelligence.

The peculiar ambivalence of the Presidential aims is apparent when you consider that, on the one hand the administration makes a valiant pretense of creating jobs for everybody while on the other hand promising that, job or no job, everybody is going to belong to the country club and have five cars in the garage. Why then a job at all?

That the intelligence of the American people has been so eroded with soft living and political blandishments as to seriously accept such a scheme of things as not only possible but actually desirable is not a flattering commentary on the collective American mind. Most of us are available to flattery and large numbers of people are available to systematic delusions and the grand scale of mendacity made possible by contemporary government and communications, but to accept without batting an eye the proposition that the machinery of society is going to continue indefinitely with everybody a consumer and nobody on the producing end is not rational.

In actual fact it contributes materially to the theory in some circles that entire nations can become mentally unbalanced, usually advanced to explain the conduct of Nazi Germany.

Nothing in history suggests that something for nothing is a workable social or economic hypothesis. The erosion of competition and destruction of a system of rewards is almost immediately fatal to the society that embraces such quackery.

Even the Russians are daily becoming more aware of the circumstance, having learned it the hard way. For some decades Communist Russia tried living on slogans, even as President Johnson would have us all do.

It was found not to be a satisfactory diet.

### Mapping the Ocean Floor

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the fine public information offices—and the very talented people who work in them—are

one of the Navy's greatest assets. Navy information officers are dedicated men who work quietly, modestly, and efficiently, making every effort to draw attention to what they are publicizing and yet skillfully avoiding the temptation to draw themselves into the spotlight.

One outstanding example of such a topnotch operation is the Naval Oceanographic Office Public Information Section. Its Deputy Director, Bob Niblock, is a good writer and an outstanding public information man.

Following is one of many instances of the very fine job the public information section is doing for the Naval Oceanographic Office. I am proud to include in the Record this very interesting article written by Bob Niblock about the exciting work the Navy is doing in mapping the ocean floor.

Chartmaking of the three-dimensional ocean is a very important part of the modern Navy's role. For without an understanding of its operating environment the Navy would be at a great loss.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Oct. 17, 1965]

#### NAVY IS MAPPING THE OCEAN FLOOR

An accelerated U.S. Navy effort to learn more about the ocean environment in which its ships and submarines operate has been a prime moving force for some exciting new programs of research and exploration in recent years.

Research ships now operate in all parts of the world gathering information for a three-dimensional picture of the ocean. Vehicles to explore the greatest depths are being designed and built and successful experiments point to the day when men may live and work in the sea for extended periods.

Based on the current growth rate, oceanography—the science of the seas—is a career of the future.

An organization which has undergone major changes because of the current push is the U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office (formerly the U.S. Naval Hydrographic Office) at Suitland, Md.

Commanded by aptly named Rear Adm. Odale D. Waters, its once modest program has sprouted into a three-department undertaking involving more than 700 men and women.

Oceanographers from the Suitland office range the globe studying everything from the drift of Arctic ice floes to the temperature variation and distribution of Gulf Stream seallife. All programs are directed primarily toward bettering the defense capability of the U.S. Navy. But they also assist dozens of nonmilitary activities, from deep-sea fishing to long-range weather forecasting.

Many of the Oceanographic Office's projects have a distinctly pioneering flavor. Like the one carried out in a deep section of the Atlantic near Nassau, known as the Tongue of the Ocean.

There the Navy's Bureau of Ships is developing a facility called the Atlantic Underwater Test and Evaluation Center. When completed, it will provide a deep ocean test range for submarines, surface ships and their weapons systems. The Oceanographic Office was asked to draw a picture of this 3,000-square-mile ocean test tank.

In researching the area, a two-man submarine was used to survey the steep limestone cliff which surrounds Andros Island, largest of the Bahama Islands, and extends underwater for more than 600 feet.

A four-man team of divers and scientists was sent from the Oceanographic Office. Washington Oceanographer Roswell F. Busby headed the group which included Chester Bright, of La Plata, Md., a veteran



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Navy diver and underwater photographer, Oceanographer Gilbert Ruggles, of Oxon Hill, Md., and Scientific Technician Andres Pruna, of Suitland, Md., who was a leader of the Cuban underwater demolition team during the Bay of Pigs operation. A skilled artist, he produced detailed sketches of the reef after dives in the *Cubmarine*.

During descents in the 22-foot vessel, Busby could look through any of 17 plexiglass portholes as he made his scientific observations on a portable tape recorder. There was voice communication between the sub and surface tending vessel and at one point during the hour-long first dive Busby described coral formations looking like "bouquets of telephone poles."

Bright made the second dive. Using movie and still cameras, he made his photo documentation as the sub cruised downward along the cliff. On each dive, they descended to 600 feet.

High winds and rough seas canceled out 3 days of operations, but in nine dives the team covered most of the critical sites in the AUTEC area.

They returned with valuable data, photographs and sketches, which are now being used to draw up plans for cable laying operations.

There were other bonuses from the undertaking, according to Busby. Although their mission was applied research, the team saw and photographed an underwater formation which had been theorized but seldom seen.

On the face of the escarpment about 200 feet underwater, they discovered a shelf cut into the coral which helped to document the fact that the levels of the sea were much lower at one time, since this kind of shelf is most likely to have been cut by intertidal erosion centuries before.

In addition, said Busby, "we learned a lot about working with small, deep-diving research submarines and about their potential as a useful research and survey tool."

### The 50th Anniversary—U.S. Marine Corps Reserve

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, August 29, 1966, will mark the 50th anniversary of the formal establishment of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve. Yesterday I introduced a bill calling on the Postmaster General to issue a stamp at the appropriate time next year to commemorate this highly significant event in the history of a great organization—an event which is equally great and significant in the history of the United States and in the struggle of all free people to defend freedom with life's blood or with life itself if need be.

The U.S. Marine Corps has written on the pages of history of this Nation feats of dedication and heroism unsurpassed in the annals of man—and the citizen-marine has shed his blood and offered up his life side by side with the regulars on every beachhead and in every battle from Chateau Thierry to Iwo Jima to Vietnam.

Today, more than at any other time in its history, the Marine Corps Reserve stands equipped, trained, and ready to answer the call of its country to defend once again that freedom which has been won by so costly a sacrifice.

In 1916, at the urging of the then Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels and the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Maj. Gen. Commandant George Barnett, the Congress passed "An act making appropriations for naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes." One of the other purposes was to set forth provisions regarding a Marine Corps Reserve. President Woodrow Wilson signed the act into law on August 29, 1916, and Secretary Daniels promptly issued Navy Department General Order No. 131 on August 31, 1916, which contained the following statement:

A U.S. Marine Corps Reserve to be a constituent part of the Marine Corps and in addition to the authorized strength thereof, is hereby established.

The first official strength report of the Marine Corps Reserve shows only 3 officers and 32 enlisted men as of April 1, 1917. From that small beginning, however, the reserve grew to 6,467 in World War I and to a peak strength of 357,417 during World War II. At the present time, the Marine Corps Reserve numbers 141,000, of which 7,000 are now on active duty, 100,190 are in Ready Reserve, and the remaining 33,810 are in Standby Reserve or retired.

The Marine Corps has always claimed the proud distinction of being ready to fight for its country whenever and wherever needed, and the Reserve has stood ready to back up that claim, and it continues to do so today. I think it is entirely fitting that we should honor such an organization.

### Two Hundred Panamanians Trained in Cuba for Isthmian Subversion

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in a number of addresses before this body, I have described the Panama Canal as a key target for communistic revolutionary conquest and vigorously opposed the employment of alien Panamanians in security positions, especially on the Canal Zone police force.

Recent information from the isthmus is that more than 200 Panamanians have been trained in Red Cuba in preparation for aggressive subversive activities against Latin America.

In order that the Congress and the people of our country may be informed on this matter, I quote a news story from a well-known and respected isthmian newspaper:

[From the Panama (R.P.) Star & Herald, Sept. 28, 1965]

### TWO HUNDRED TRAINED IN CUBA FOR SUBVERSION HERE—EXILE TELLS OF PLANS

More than 200 Panamanians have been trained in subversion in Communist Cuba in preparation for their part in Panama of an overall Communist aggression plan against Latin America, a handless former diplomat of the Castro regime said in a news conference yesterday.

He is Odon Alvarez de la Campa, 45, who until March of this year was minister counselor of Castro's embassy in Madrid, Spain. He has joined the anti-Castro movement in exile. He lost both hands while engaged in sabotage work for Castro's underground army in the fight against the Batista regime.

Prior to being assigned to Madrid, he had served as deputy chief of the Castro police.

Alvarez de la Campa said he learned of the Cuban plan of aggression against the Latin American nations at a meeting he attended in Paris in January of 1965. This meeting, held in the Cuban Embassy in Paris, was presided by Ernesto (Che) Guevara, the third-ranking man in the Cuban Communist hierarchy.

Students from all Latin American countries who had attended a Communist congress in Warsaw, Poland, attended the meeting, Alvarez de la Campa declared.

Guevara, the former diplomat said, told the students of the decisions reached at a congress of Latin American Communist Parties held in Havana in November 1964, and urged them to return quickly to their countries in order to intensify the subversion plans. Guevara, according to Alvarez de la Campa, was concerned by the failure of pro-Castro guerrillas to stop elections in Venezuela and to take over in Brazil, then governed by Joao Goulart.

"I have been inside the training camp in Cuba," Alvarez de la Campa said. "Not only are the latest weapons employed there, but the most modern tactics of subversion are taught. There are not only Cuban but Chinese, Russian, and Vietnamese instructors."

Alvarez de la Campa said that because of his familiarity with the pattern of Communist infiltration from Cuba, he is certain that arms have been cached already in Panama for future use.

He said Castro agents move in Europe through Prague, Paris, and Madrid and that the Spanish capital serves as the gateway to Latin America for agents assigned to the Western Hemisphere.

In Latin America, Alvarez de la Campa added, the vital centers of Communist traffic are Mexico City, Montevideo, Uruguay, and Santiago, Chile. In these cities, he reported, false travel documentation is provided for Communist agents.

He said agents trained in Cuba infiltrate government, labor, and student organizations and their strategy is to capitalize on social conditions in each country in order to carry out propaganda, agitation, and terrorism, and bring about armed conflict.

Cuba's campaign of penetration and subversion in Latin American countries has been intensified in recent months, according to Alvarez de la Campa. He said events in Peru, Guatemala, Venezuela and other countries should not be regarded as isolated outbreaks, but as part of an overall hemisphere campaign.

This subversion, he declared, is aided by both Russia and Communist China. The ideological split between the two Red giants has not been carried into Cuba, he explained, and the Castro regime receives economic and military aid from both Communist powers.

Alvarez de la Campa said he believes Guevara, whose disappearance from the pub-

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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Otepka, taking advantage of the reorganization of the file room, of which Norpel had charge, discovered something curious. A number of clearances for high appointees had been predated to the time of their hiring. They had been put at once on the payroll without any investigation into their background. Inquiry quickly showed that some had very dubious or even adverse records. When news of this spread through the Department, a number of those employed decided they did not want a Government job after all.

Orders came down that Norpel would be more useful away from the files, and they were removed from Otepka's jurisdiction. Norpel was set to work on special clearances. Simultaneously, Boswell transferred some of the functions of the evaluations division to his own executive office, including the files. They were now safe from probing security men.

## HERE IS WHERE REILLY ENTERS THE PICTURE

On April 16, 1962, John F. Reilly, who had been a senior lawyer for the Federal Communications Commission, was brought in to succeed Boswell. Congressional testimony revealed that his job was to "get Otepka." A stratagem was thought up to make this easy. Otepka was offered a 10-months' course in the National War College. Otepka surprised by this bounty, found out that he was not to be returned to the security section, so he said, "No, thank you."

David Belisle was brought from the National Security Agency as Deputy Director, Otepka's old post. He had supervision over Otepka's evaluation division, as well as the moribund special project. Obviously, a squeezeplay was being attempted against Otepka, and while technically he retained his old status, actually he was being downgraded. Anything that came from the Otepka office now was sure to meet objection, if only for a "t" not crossed, while the top was disregarding and violating actual personnel security procedures, promulgated by the White House and sanctioned by Congress as Executive Order 1040. This is still the basic regulation. A flood of waivers from the top circumvented clearances.

Civil Service in December 1962 resurrected the Wieland case by sending to the State Department new evidence that was developed after the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's exploration into the fall of Cuba. This naturally went to Otepka, who assigned it to the old special project group. Reilly called for the special Wieland file almost at once, and this was the last seen of it until May 1963. No work had been done on it. Harry M. Hite immediately was assigned to it. Norpel and his security associates began a departmentwide search for documents relating to the new data. Reports spread in the Department that they were hitting pay dirt.

The boom was lowered again. This time it dropped right through the hull. The evaluation division phones were tapped by orders that came through Reilly. A futile effort was made to attach microphones in the offices. The classified trash that was discarded daily into burn bags, to go into the furnace, was diverted and pored over minutely. Surveillance of Otepka's selectees was begun. Officers and secretaries in contiguous security areas were persuaded to act as informants on all movements of the group, to report what these men said, and to assess their intent and actions.

On June 27, 1963, a raid took place of the Otepka premises, indistinguishable from any raid that might have taken place of a narcotics ring or even a Red espionage ring. At 11:50 a.m., Mrs. Eunice Powers, Otepka's personal secretary, was called by Reilly and sent to a different office for a spurious rush job. At 11:53 a.m., Billy N. Hughes was summoned and handed his transfer to routine investiga-

tion in a Washington field office. Reilly suggested he go to lunch at once instead of returning to his old office.

At 11:56 a.m., Norpel was summoned and likewise was handed the same transfer orders, and he, too, was told, "There's no need for you to report back to your office; go out to lunch, and then report to your new office." At the stroke of noon, Otepka, having been similarly summoned, walked into Reilly's office. All this time, Belisle hovered over the scene, as a bodyguard might have done.

Otepka was given an obviously make-work assignment apart from his old staff. He was banished to a cubbyhole to "write a handbook on security operations." He returned to his office to find Mrs. Powers, Hughes, and Norpel there. They were experienced enough in surreptitious and illegal techniques to know there was something phony about this. And there was.

## THREE OFFICES—NOT ONE—RAIDED AT ONCE

The public impression, from what has been published, is that Otepka's office alone was summarily entered and searched. Actually, a raiding party simultaneously at about 12:10 p.m. entered the office of Otepka, the adjoining separate office of Mrs. Powers, and farther down the hallway, the combined offices of Norpel and Hughes. While others watched, wondering what crime had been committed, Reilly superintended the seizure of all safes and the immediate changing of all combinations on the locks. All records and file material were removed from the desks. Even the personal belongings of the exiled staff were impounded, and could be obtained only later under the surveillance of a guard.

If only such energy could be focused on our Communist enemies.

Norpel worked on routine investigations of job applicants, the sort of thing he had cut his teeth on in the FBI in 1951. Hughes shortly after was pressed into accepting a permanent assignment as a field agent in Memphis, Tenn. In January 1964, Norpel made his first appearance as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, on instructions relayed through his superior. Intermittently, for the past several years, the subcommittee had been calling witnesses from the security branch, on the basis of information sent it from numerous alarmed sources.

Following his testimony, Norpel was asked if he was satisfied with his assignment, and when he replied in the negative, was transferred back to the evaluations division. Apparently, anywhere they went, this group insisted on doing a thorough job. On March 15, 1964, the old group, except Hughes was reassembled, along with Howard J. Shea, an old State Department hand, and Edwin A. Burkhardt, and was reconstituted as an undefined section of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. They were supposed to be engaged in some supersensitive task. But the required files and facilities were kept from them. They twiddled their thumbs, chafing and protesting over the inaction. Loughton settled for a consular assignment abroad. Gardner went upstairs.

Norpel was placed in charge. He kept insisting on something to do, and continued being fed a line about the super-secretness of it all. He did his usual probing, nonetheless, and came up with what he surmised they should have been seeking. His security background led him to the right trail. This was evident when the same boom came down. Out of the administration's woodwork came the same influences that divert or paralyze any government project once it threatens to really hurt the Communists.

Norpel was ordered to El Paso, Tex., where there never had been a State Department office. Shea was ordered to Denver, Colo. Hite and Burkhardt were left behind, with the same ambiguous non-assignment, where

they still are in virtual quarantine. Otepka on April 30, 1964 was told to delay his previous meaningless task, and take on a new one, reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order to record the views of legislators on security matters. Norpel and Shea, of course, did not accept punitive exile, and have been dropped from the payroll, and are considered discharged. Now it is up to the public, Congress and the press. The Otepka and the Norpel cases, and those of the others, must not be separated.

Jack Foisie

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the October 1965 edition of the magazine Army published by the Association of the U.S. Army contains an article written by Jack Foisie of the Los Angeles Times on the war in Vietnam, and the men who are fighting it. It is entitled "My Third War" and I commend it to all those in this body who have seen service in military combat:

## MY THIRD WAR

(By Jack Foisie)

SAIGON.—When my "friends and neighbors" of the draft board selected me for a year of military training back in mid-1941, I hated the thought of being in the Army. Even after Pearl Harbor, and the year became "for the duration" and learning to shoot took on purpose, I remained at heart a civilian.

Now I am in Vietnam—in my third war.

Of course, I am no longer a soldier. I am a correspondent. I also was a correspondent during the Korean war. And midway through World War II, I became an Army combat correspondent.

But in uniform or out, I have remained a civilian, and at least in the last two conflicts I have—I fear—sometimes gloried in the independence enjoyed by a correspondent even when among the military. Yet if I ever really hated military life (and there were days in basic training when I thought I did), I hate the Army no longer. Nor any other of the Armed Forces.

A career as a military reporter, spanning 2 decades, has been time enough for my prejudices to wear away.

This is not to suggest that in 1941 I was a pacifist. But neither was I a fired-up patriot. Although just beginning in journalism, I had already taken on a speck of the cynicism that is an occupational disease (and some would say, a necessity) in our business.

And so I believed that the war then confined to Europe was not our affair; that much of the discipline of the military was needless harassment, and that officers as well as sergeants were narrow thinkers and had chosen the military as a career because they were people who really couldn't cut the mustard in civilian life.

I am still a cynic—particularly here in Vietnam. But I harbor no such general condemnation of men in uniform here, or anywhere else in the world where, in past years, I have been associated with professional soldiers, airmen, sailors, marines.

I remember a November day at Fort Knox, 24 years ago, when I had rebellious thoughts.

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will risk turning public opinion in this country against the rescue effort.

In this latter regard, members of the exile community must realize that there is already a large and legitimate segment of public opinion in the United States which doubts the wisdom of admitting more Cuban refugees on a mass basis. Gov. Haydon Burns, of Florida has expressed his concern that an additional flow of Cuban nationals into this State will add to economic problems, specifically in the area of employment.

Other critics foresee an increased burden on State and national welfare programs since many of the escapees will arrive with the clothes on their backs as their only personal possessions, and no immediate job prospects.

Such fears are not without justification. We are not surprised that Castro is anxious to create these problems for the United States. But we would be surprised if members of the Cuban exile community cooperated, wittingly or unwittingly, in aiding him in this cause. A disorderly reply to the Castro challenge would create the sort of chaos here which already exists in Cuba. We don't want that.

On the other hand, it is extremely important that those who seek to take advantage of the Castro escape hatch have an opportunity to do so. Naturally, we would prefer an internal revolution in Cuba which overthrows Castro completely. But his continuing control of the military apparatus seems to rule that out. His opponents have neither the arms nor the organization to displace him.

Rather than see these people rounded up Hungarian-style and moved to some Cuban Siberia, we would prefer that an efficient means of freeing them from Cuba be developed and that a fair and intelligent resettlement program be organized once they are out of communism's clutches.

Of course, it would be an error to bring more refugees to this country only to plunge them into a cesspool of poverty and psychological depression. But isn't that what the ideological war with communism is all about? We must prove that we can face problems such as these and solve them without damaging our own strong socioeconomic system or simply moving victims of communism from one bad situation to another.

This is not a job for amateurs. It is not a task to be carried out alone by emotion-struck exiles already in the United States. If Castro is truly determined to open the doors of his country to those desirous of leaving, the exodus must be handled wisely and in context with existing U.S. policies.

If it is successful and so complete that we may be relatively sure only pro-Castro elements remain on the island, then it will be far easier from the standpoint of conscience to increase economic pressure on Cuba; to blockade the island and to wage psychological and physical warfare against Castroism.

But that is for the future. Our concern now is with the present and with the best possible means of taking advantage of the latest strange and wonderful twist in Castro's reasoning.

## The Norpel Case

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in the publication *Tactics*, of the date of September 20, 1965, is an article by Mr. Edward Hunt calling attention to the case of

Mr. John R. Norpel, Jr., who has been the victim of unwarranted punishment by officials in the State Department because of his support of Otto F. Otepka.

Norpel is being punished because of his honesty and loyalty, not only to Otto Otepka but to his country. It is incredible that those entrusted with the proper conduct of the State Department have been permitted to make a mockery of the civil service which was designed to protect efficient, honest, and loyal employees of the Federal Government.

The article by Edward Hunt follows:

#### BACKGROUND ON OTEPKA'S DEFENDERS: STUDY PAPER ON NORPEL CASE

An integral, although separated part of the Otepka case is the Norpel case. Actually, it also might be called the Shea case, the Hite case, the Hughes, or the Burkhardt case. The issue in the Norpel case is a fundamental one by itself, with its own significance in the maintenance of freedom. If Otto F. Otepka were to be restored to his post in the State Department, and his rights as a citizen upheld, it would be a pyrrhic victory if Norpel and the others were not likewise vindicated.

The basic issue in the Otepka case is the right of Senators and Congressmen to obtain correct information from any source as guidance in drafting laws and for policy guidance. The other side of the identical coin is the right of the American citizen, in or out of government, to contact or be contacted by his Representative in Congress.

Surely it does not require any book learning to know that it is impossible for any legislator to write intelligent laws, if when he asks a question of a government employee or office holder, he is led astray, misinformed, or lied to. Free society could not exist without this right of his being fully protected.

The issue in the case of John R. Norpel Jr., is a person's right, surely in government, not to be penalized or discharged when his superior falls from favor or is fired, or to be forced to repudiate and betray him in order to get on the right side of his new boss. Every American has read about the dismissal or disgrace of some official in Soviet Russia, and how everyone related personally or professionally to him was purged, as well. What American while reading this has not felt a self-satisfied glow of satisfaction that this could not happen in the United States? Well, it has happened to Norpel, and to all these others.

Surely it does not require any book learning to know that we cannot expect the interests of the United States to be uppermost in the mind of any government employee or functionary if he knows that if he does not play ball with the top, and stand ready at any time to doublecross or knife anyone who receives the displeasure of the top, he will be tossed to the wolves, and the public not give a damn, the Congress look the other way, and the press be closed to him.

This is how it is under despotism, of course. What we have not realized, of course, is that with the best will in the world, it is impossible to institute a news management procedure, allowing officials to decide when they believe it convenient to lie to the public, press, and Congress, and to insist on a policy of one voice in government, without gradually building up a dictatorship, with the inevitable police state required to enforce it. This is modern despotism.

#### OUR SMUGNESS IS ALLOWING THIS TO HAPPEN

This reminder should be brought to the attention of every man or woman in government, whether in the White House or a city hall. It should be brought to the attention of every professor of political science, and should be digested by every newspaper reporter and voter. The Otepka case and the

Norpel case are the symbols of these two fundamental issues. We have been so confident that such despotic and unfair procedure could not happen to us that we fail to recognize these things when they occur under our noses. They are given such dissembling names as institutional loyalty, which replaces patriotism.

Norpel, who is married and has two daughters, is clean-cut in looks and character. Although only 40 last August 6, he has given half his years to patriotic work, from the U.S. Army to the FBI, to the State Department. His is the sort of outlook and career that those bent on softening up the United States seek to corrupt. He even was an Eagle Scout. But he can meet eggheads on their own ground. He has his B.A., studied law, is a member of Phi Delta Phi legal fraternity and Alpha Epsilon national honorary society, and has been a teacher in Philadelphia and in the FBI. His FBI work ranged from specialization in investigative photography to penetration of Communist underground activities to developing complex espionage cases. He was highly commended by J. Edgar Hoover in the designing of an investigative device for security tasks, and Hoover also commended him on other occasions in connection with security operations.

Otto Otepka brought him into the State Department in July 1961 to work on a special project suddenly ordered for an exhaustive review of the security backgrounds of all at officer level. Preliminary studies were being made by two other security evaluators, Harry M. Hite and Billy N. Hughes. Otepka, as Deputy Director of the Security Office, also brought in as evaluators, Raymond A. Loughton from the Defense Department, who was upset over being overruled regarding Adam Yarmolinsky, and Francis V. Gardner, recently with FBI. Howard J. Shea at this time was an investigative supervisor under Otepka. Edwin A. Burkhardt, evaluator, had been brought over previously from the Civil Service Commission by Otepka, who also had been connected with the Commission.

The project was begun under the instructions of William O. Boswell shortly after this career Foreign Service officer became Director of the Office of Security. His role was to eliminate the Scott McLeod image. The routine work of the office proceeded, and included the William A. Wieland case, which Otepka completed in August 1961, and passed it directly to Roger Jones, who recently had become Deputy Under Secretary for Administration. Boswell simply refused to have anything to do with it, and the ill-fated Salvatore Bontempo, given a political plum as administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, was out of the picture. He resigned after a controversial 6 months, during which Congress and the press asked what a man of his total lack of experience was doing in such an office. Norpel during this period was trying to retrieve the voluminous, scattered information in State Department files that were hidden all over the place.

#### FIRST BACKLASH IS REDUCTION IN FORCE

Obviously the team that was assembled was actually digging into the records. This obviously never had been intended. The expectation was that Otepka would be mature enough to know his men were supposed only to be going through the motions. The boom was dropped. Otepka was informed of a sudden need for a reduction in force. His post and 24 other security jobs were abolished. Otepka now was made chief of the Division of Evaluations, taking his project staff with him. Norpel went along. They now had to handle all the routine cases of applicants, and with a greatly reduced total staff, a big backlog built up. Without anyone having to say a word, the special project was pushed to the side for lack of time.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

October 22, 1965

Many Cubans relocated elsewhere have returned to Miami.

The social and economic impact on Miami of thousands of additional Cuban refugees obviously could be severe, if the orderly influx approved by President Johnson were not observed.

One would guess that this was in the mind of the sly, whiskered dictator when he reversed usual Communist tactics and offered to remove, rather than erect, barriers to emigration. It is a severe indictment of the Castro Communist regime that thousands of Cubans are eager to vote by boat against it, as so many thousands of East Germans voted by foot against their rulers until the Berlin wall was erected. But, by opening the door, Castro gets rid of many countrymen who do not support him and lessens the drain on Cuba's skimpy economy.

If the United States should turn an armada of refugees away because they are not following an orderly process of immigration, Castro would have ammunition for propaganda branding this country as inhumane and hypocritical. Cubans already here understandably would be upset if their relatives were not admitted freely by the U.S. Government, after Castro had set them free.

Castro may not be as loony as he appears. There's probably a cynical grin behind the beard.

[From the Lincoln Evening Journal and Nebraska State Journal, Oct. 14, 1965]

## CASTRO'S BOMBHELL

Recently Fidel Castro began giving one of his long rambling talks which covered everything from poverty to bureaucrats. Then he dropped a bombshell, saying that any Cuban with relatives in the United States could leave the island after October 10.

President Lyndon Johnson reciprocated by saying they would be welcomed. Then the stampede was on. Everyone from diplomats down to the Cuban in the street is searching for the reasons for Castro's new open door policy.

One thing is certain, many Cubans don't trust the Cuban dictator and are making a mad dash to get out while the leaving is possible. Cuban exiles in this country are aiding their friends and relatives despite the U.S. Government's plea for an orderly exit and the promise of safe transportation.

This mass exodus should disillusion any remaining Castro admirers in Latin America. It also has provided both a challenge and a problem for the United States.

The proximity of Florida places the burden on the southern part of that State. Florida Gov. Haydon Burns proposed a four-point Federal program to prevent refugees being dumped in the Miami area for resettlement and school officials there were told not to admit new wave Cuban refugee children to classes until Federal funds were available for classrooms and teachers.

There has also been grumbling in some labor groups about the added competition in the job markets. It seems evident that the Cuban Government is not going to cooperate in an orderly flow of refugees.

The United States can absorb the refugees, but Florida cannot, without help. That help should be forthcoming—quickly before the tempers rise in that State. Possibly it was Castro's plan to embarrass the United States, but this he should not be allowed to do.

President Johnson may have been impetuous and perhaps the ground rules should have been laid before extending the welcome. But both Castro and the President have spoken. In international circles Castro's word means nothing but Uncle Sam's is respected.

The United States now must make the best of a difficult situation. It dare not dash the hopes of enslaved men and women. Castro has also given it an opportunity for a

great propaganda coup against the Communist world.

[From the Atlanta Journal, Oct. 14, 1965]

## CARING FOR CUBAN REFUGEES

A number of agencies here are wisely starting work to care for a fraction of the Cuban refugees expected to come to this country in what promises to be a major exodus.

It will be a welcome exodus. Like the tens of thousands before them, they will be fleeing from the cruel band of communism. For reasons not fully known Fidel Castro has said that he will let down the barriers to all who want to leave Cuba.

Whatever the reasons it is a happy opportunity for a brutalized people to make their way to freedom.

Freedom for those who can leave, as it has been for practically all who have escaped before, logically lies in the United States. This country is not only the traditional haven for the oppressed but it has also held a burning anger against Castro and his fellow Communists and an abiding sympathy for the Cubans.

As these refugees arrive it is the responsibility of the entire country to resettle them and start them in new lives. The Federal Government should lead the way. States and communities should follow through with their own arrangements.

Miami has been all but swamped with the refugees. Other parts of Florida have been burdened with large numbers. This should not be. They are a national problem which should be the enthusiastic concern of all Americans.

[From the Chicago Daily News, Oct. 16, 1965]

## CUBA'S NEW EXODUS

It is for Fidel Castro to decide whether the exodus from Cuba will be confined to the daring few skilled enough to venture the passage in small boats or enlarged to number in the thousands.

For reasons as unfathomable as his initial offer to let refugees leave his island prison, Castro has thus far indicated a willingness to cooperate with an orderly and larger departure.

Is Castro merely trying to get rid of "undesirables"? Will he eventually demand a ransom, financial or political? Is he being prodded by his Soviet bosses to make a conciliatory gesture?

Whatever the answers, the Cuban refugees ought to be welcomed by Americans.

They will be a temporary burden, especially to the Miami area, which has absorbed so many in the past. But their presence and their plight affords an opportunity for the United States to live up to its tradition as a haven for the oppressed.

The opportunity is a national one, and Gov. Haydon Burns of Florida is right in asking other States to do their share.

Fortunately, Chicago already has the mechanism for absorbing many more refugees. The Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish Speaking and the Cuban Association, which it supports, have integrated thousands with a minimum of public dependency. (The story is told elsewhere in today's paper by reporter Norman Glubok.)

The doors of these organizations are now being crowded by refugee Cubans anxious to receive friends and relatives who might form part of a new exodus. Chicagoan should give them wholehearted support.

[From the Boston Globe, Oct. 13, 1965]

## THE ROAD TO EXILE

When Fidel Castro startled an audience at Havana a fortnight ago by announcing that anyone discontented with his regime could migrate to the United States, he posed several riddles. They remain unanswered.

Was he referring only to those in Cuba who have relatives living in exile in this

country? Or was his purpose broader? Was he merely reaching for an expedient to rid himself of leaders of the growing passive resistance movement among Cuba's peasantry and workmen? Whatever his aims, was he ready to cooperate with the United States to facilitate an orderly exodus of the thousands who undoubtedly would like to accept his offer?

President Johnson, taking note of Castro's proposal, was careful to emphasize that the United States will give first priority to Cubans having relatives in this country, and to political prisoners. But he indicated a broader policy: "Those who seek refuge here will find it."

Washington's efforts to obtain a rational working agreement with Havana are still bogged down. Castro's suggestion that he will manage matters as he sees fit doesn't help. As a result, while intermittent boatloads of refugee Cubans turn up off Florida, our own Government faces a number of problems.

Whether, as some estimate, 300,000 or more Cubans are preparing to seek freedom here, or (as is more likely) the realistic figure would be nearer 50,000, rigorous control of admissions is of necessity part of U.S. policy. The immigration laws make that mandatory. Even when latitude is allowed for political asylum precautions are needed.

This should not mean serious hardship for the fugitive Cubans who, in fact, can only benefit by orderly procedures. Meantime the problems created by the prospective arrival of some 5,000 refugees a month need attention and farsighted planning. That was the scale of the influx prior to the Cuban missile crisis, when 350,000 Cubans fled abroad from Castro's tyranny and some 270,000 of them came here.

Our Government has already spent about \$190 million helping resettle and retrain these refugees, one-third of them in and around Miami. Private agencies have contributed a similar amount. Yet nearly 16,000 are still on relief. Clearly the \$12-million asked of Congress by the President to deal with the situation now developing is too meager.

Neither Miami nor Florida's Dades County can absorb unaided a new heavy influx of refugees. The problem obviously is Federal, not local. No true American will fail to welcome these unfortunates; but the welcome will be the more beneficial to all, including the refugees, if backed by an adequate Federal economic and educational program.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Times, Oct. 11, 1965]

## NOT A JOB FOR AMATEURS

If the evacuation of refugees from Cuba is to be a success it is extremely important that Cuban exiles in the United States cooperate fully with Government plans for handling this unusual Castro-approved exodus.

In their anxiety to aid friends and relatives leave Cuba, Cubans already in the United States may defeat their purpose by rushing a small boat flotilla across the Florida Straits.

First, the number of escapees picked up by small boats would be low compared to the total removed in an organized evacuation.

Second, unless the rescue of these people from Castroism is orderly, there is a danger of injustice, accidents and error. One such "error" occurred over the weekend when exile operators of a refugee pick-up craft swapped gunfire with a Cuban militia patrol. Castro could use such an incident to cancel his open-door order and take retaliatory measures against those would-be escapees who have identified themselves.

Third, any rescue effort which is not tightly supervised by Government agencies



the innate hospitality and friendliness of all Americans.

The following editorials from across the country attest to the willingness and friendliness with which the whole Nation welcomes those who have the courage to flee from tyranny:

[From the Miami Herald, Oct. 18, 1965]

#### GUIDELINES FOR REFUGEES

Once we knew a family whose elderly father grew ill but could not go to a nursing home for care. So he moved in with one of his sons. The others promised to help.

Well, you know the story. Through the fault really of nobody at all, the one son became the sole support of the ailing father.

South Florida would not equate its Cuban visitors with a sick old man but rather with an ailing freedom that somehow must be nursed back to robust good health. Yet it cannot perform that function if new and heavier burdens are laid upon it by the resettlement in this area of large groups of exiles.

It seems to us that Representative DANTE FASCELL framed the issue properly before the House the other day when he observed that "the major burden is the ability of one area to take to its heart and absorb into its economic life, thousands more who flee tyranny."

There is no reason the United States Government cannot do this job with order and dispatch if it addresses itself seriously to the question as a matter vested with the national interest.

Mr. FASCELL has suggested a number of guidelines. All of them are good. Some must be adopted. Here they are:

1. Entry should be limited to reuniting divided families and releasing political prisoners; beyond that the United States should not now go.

2. Miami should be only an entry and processing point and not a staging or relocation center.

3. Transportation of refugees from Cuba should be at all times under the strict supervision and control of U.S. authorities.

4. Necessary personnel and equipment should be kept in the south Florida area to enforce the laws and to safeguard the security of the United States.

5. The United States must have final determination on who is admitted.

6. Refugees must be security screened and, if considered a security risk returned to Cuba.

7. The rate of entry of Cuban refugees into the United States should not exceed the rate of relocation.

8. No agreement should contain any terms or conditions which in any way could be interpreted as changing the position of the United States against Fidel Castro and his government. The United States must remain firm in its determination to rid the Western Hemisphere of communism and to allow the people of Cuba to restore a democratic government.

This policy would commit Congress to a responsibility for as well as an understanding of the Cuban refugee problem.

It would by no means close the door on refugees.

Indeed, point 8 gives purpose to the reception of refugees beyond a humanitarian impulse. For if the United States is to help achieve a free Cuba it must of course be receptive to those who seek sanctuary.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 16, 1965]

#### CUBAN REFUGEES

Refugees from Fidel Castro's Cuba may soon be flooding into Florida at the pre-Cuban missile crisis rate of more than 1,000 a week. The Cuban Premier's surprising an-

nouncement that anyone on the island who wants to leave might do so, together with President Johnson's offer to accept all refugees, is a fascinating development. We have grown accustomed to communism's iron curtain approach to the desire of its peoples to emigrate.

There is speculation that Mr. Castro's motives were both political and economic. He could rid the country of opponents of his regime and at the same time strengthen the hard-pressed economy by seizing their possessions.

Mr. Johnson's motives were first of all humanitarian. From his point of view the exodus, moreover, may be considered a propaganda victory, illustrating to the world the dissatisfaction of many Cubans with life under Castro's communism.

Whatever the motives of the two leaders, if the plan does actually materialize it will pose certain problems for the United States. There will have to be another crash program to absorb the refugees as well as long-range planning and effort to integrate them into the social and economic structure of the country. It will demand the joint endeavor of private agencies and local, State, and Federal governments.

Many of the refugees have neither the language background nor the skills necessary to support themselves in the American economy. They are bound to add to the Nation's unemployment and welfare problems. In some cases their presence may limit job opportunities for Negroes. Special educational and job-training programs will certainly be needed.

And the Nation as a whole is going to have to find places for the new arrivals. Florida, and especially Miami, have borne heavy and disproportionate burdens. About one-third of the 270,000 refugees who have come since the Cuban revolution still live in Miami. When and if the new flood of refugees does come, both Government and private agencies should be ready with plans to locate them, insofar as possible, in areas of opportunity beyond the borders of Florida.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1965]

#### WELCOMING CUBANS

The administration is wise to hold Premier Castro to his offer to let Cuban refugees come to the United States irrespective of technicalities. Whether or not Castro misunderstood President Johnson's suggestion that the International Red Cross assist with preparations, this country's expressed willingness to negotiate reasonable arrangements will serve the double purpose of reaffirming the traditional American haven for those in distress and of dramatizing any Castro attempt to renege. Federal help in resettling Cubans with relatives already here as well as political refugees should prevent too great a burden from falling on Florida.

At the same time the administration's position would be even more impressive if it could take Castro up on his additional proposals—that Americans be allowed to travel to Cuba, that Cubans in this country be permitted to visit relatives in Cuba and return, and that Cubans in Cuba be permitted to visit relatives here and return. Such procedures are impossible now because Latin American countries have agreed to discourage travel to and from Cuba as a curb on subversion. The State Department has allowed journalists to visit Cuba but not others, and American passports are endorsed with a prohibition.

Although restrictions of this sort cannot easily be ended, they still are of dubious principle. Restrictions on travel are basically a totalitarian device. Even with the acknowledged security dangers and possibility of propaganda facades, there is nothing like seeing for yourself to bring out essen-

tial truths and encourage open societies. If there are to be barriers to free travel, let them come from the Communists.

[From the Evening Star, Oct. 5, 1965]

#### THE NEW EXILES

The offer of unqualified refuge to Cubans who wish to leave the island gave a dramatic ring to the President's Ellis Island speech. In terms of national sentiment, even in terms of propaganda, it was the natural response to Castro's sudden decision to open the doors.

But virtually unlimited immigration from Cuba creates a host of new problems for Florida and the city of Miami. Since 1959, Miami has been the West Berlin of the Cuban nightmare. More than 200,000 Cuban refugees have flowed into the city, most of them remaining there on temporary "parole" status. Miami, aided by State and Federal funds, has been a kind host. Refugee children attend the public schools. Jobless refugees go on the public-assistance roles immediately, although Florida residents must live there for 5 years before receiving a dole. The exiles are allowed to hold jobs, and the result has been a serious rise in jobseekers in Dade County, particularly in unskilled categories. Some resettlement has been achieved. The majority of exiles hover in southeast Florida, where the climate and culture are their own, awaiting the day of return.

Yet this very hope for an end to Castroism argues for some sort of limitation on future immigration from the island. Castro's offer puts a foreboding seal of permanence on his revolution. It is a way of cleaning house and batten down the hatches. What he seems to be angling for, in effect, is a second Cuba set up on our own shores—a convenient dumping ground for unemployables and malcontents. This may or may not be true. Castro may really wish to reopen channels of communication between the two nations. But given his muddled speeches, who can tell?

The Cuban refugee has an unprecedented hold on the Nation's conscience. This was made clear in the President's response to Castro. And the Federal Government will doubtless take on more of the responsibility for feeding and resettling the exiles.

What cannot be reckoned is the cumulative effect the new immigration will have on the exiles themselves—on their morale, their hopes, their dreams of eventual return. If the open-door plan goes through, Castro will have his safety valve. But the exiles will not, and their bitterness is bound to increase as problems of resettlement become more complicated. It is not a happy prospect, in the long run, for anyone involved—except perhaps for Castro himself.

[From the Oregonian, Oct. 10, 1965]

#### SLY CASTRO

According to Cuban exiles in Miami, Fidel Castro apparently meant his recent statement that all Cubans who wished to join relatives in the United States would be free to do so. Castro not only has opened the door; he has stocked a small port with food and other provisions for his departing countrymen and has sent telegrams to exiles in Florida inviting them to come to Cuba by small boat to fetch their relatives.

Already some small craft have made the voyage safely through waters which formerly were so closely guarded by Communist torpedo boats that they became known as "death corridor." Many Miami residents are worried that their city and State will be flooded by refugees before the U.S. Government can arrange for their relocation throughout the country in an orderly manner. Of 244,000 alien Cubans already in the United States, more than a third live in the Miami area and almost half in Florida.



October 22, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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The Soviets hit this critical stage in the late 1950's."

Page 98: "Everyone understands the problem: According to one estimate by a leading Soviet mathematician, 50 percent of the country's potential industrial output is being wasted by inefficiencies in planning and administration."

U.S. News & World Report, May 3, 1965: "The Communist system in most of the eastern European nations is falling apart. There still is dictatorship but the totalitarian state is gone and communism as an ideology is dead in all satellites except Bulgaria."

In sum, central planning for business and industry just wouldn't work. The Russians, being human, followed their own self-interest and did things the easiest, rather than the best, way. And, as always when central planners have to defend themselves, for a long time they managed to use figures to cover the faults.

Finally in 1962 (a year after the Berlin wall spilled the beans, and Communist leadership, staring economic defeat in the face, became willing to listen to anyone) up popped a Russian liberal named Liberman. (You must remember that, in Russia, a liberal is against central planning.) A professor.

He proposed a diabolical, ingenious new Soviet scheme, the Liberman plan.

He called it "The plan, profits, and bonuses" (pretty nervy right there) and this was the idea:

Liberman said the public knows what the public wants. Let each factory develop its own production targets, product designs, and selling techniques (fancy words for individual and company initiative) based on what it thinks the public will buy (Westerners would call this, "the economy of the marketplace").

The reward is profits for the factories and bonuses for the workers when they make goods that sell, and only when they sell, rather than on what some central planner directed factories to make and people to buy. (That's individual responsibility and opportunity.)

If this sounds like something that's been going on in the United States for a long time—a market-oriented, profit-motivated, economic system, guided by decentralized individual decisions, that's not remarkable. It is.

Liberman had visited the West. He knew this would work. And Khrushchev had been in the West—he could see how well it worked.

Lenin had said, "We'll even learn, if necessary, from the capitalists," and it sure was necessary, so they decided to try it out. In the spring of 1964, just before I heard about that newborn advertising agency, they began to take steps.

After 2 years of kicking Liberman's ideas around, while things got worse and worse, Khrushchev held his breath and gave Liberman the green light to try his plan in the garment industry—men's suits. Let's quote again from the Huntley-Brinkley report, just 6 months later—NBC: Huntley-Brinkley Report, November 4, 1964: "The pioneer in the new profit system has been the suit factory, Bolshevikka. No more directives from the genius in the planning committee. Bolshevikka fills orders from retail stores like GUM. That's all. But it's never been done before. The stores order what they think their customers want. Bolshevikka produces it. The order is delivered to the store and the customers either buy it or they don't. If the merchandise doesn't move, the order is cut or rescinded. Bolshevikka changes the model, cuts the price, or does what any producer would do once he recognizes that he depends on customers and that the customer is right. Since the new system began, not a single Bolshevikka suit has had to go into storage. Production is up. Profits are up. Which means more money for the work-

ers. Such success depends entirely on customer acceptance of their product, so the Bolshevikka workers have a basic profit incentive to satisfy the customers' demand for quality."

Incidentally—and this is important—this didn't work at first because the clothing factory couldn't get satisfactory cloth from its suppliers, so Khrushchev pushed the new method onto them, too. There's no stopping this, you see. And if Professor Liberman has his way, substantially all of the Russian economy will be based solely on profits, determined on the basis of goods actually sold at retail. The single best indicator of a firm's performance will be percent of profits on invested capital. (Sound familiar?)

Well, Liberman is getting his way—fast. In the months since then, with the economist Kossygin as Premier, the new scheme has been spreading rapidly. And, of course, we know that factory profits increase when customers are satisfied—through better service, quality, or price. So using profits to measure success in Russia will gradually improve the quality of all their production. In some fields this won't take long at all.

In that clothing factory, for example, bonus payments doubled in 2 months as the quality and profits improved. In 6 months, the plant was running at full capacity as more and more customers wanted the Bolshevikka brand name in their suits. Obviously, they needed some competition. So, by January 1, 1965, 400 more apparel factories had been switched to the profit system.

Since then, papers, magazines, and TV have been full of reports about the new Russian revolution. Let's pick up a few excerpts.

Time, February 12, 1965, pages 23, 25, 28, 29:

"Russia's growing community of pragmatic, highly professional economists and engineers understands very clearly what has happened, and is sure that it has the cure—even if much of it has to be borrowed from the capitalists. One editor proposed abolition of Russia's 50-percent consumer goods tax, argued that all Soviet revenues could be derived from a profits tax, once profit was made the universal indicator.

"The manager of a giant construction complex even went so far as to use the phrase 'supply and demand' in pleading for a free-wheeling open market for consumer goods, admitting that it would necessitate major reliance on that old capitalist technique of market research by firms.

"Last month a Moscow economist proposed that the profit motive even be extended to agriculture.

"Izvestia recently lamented that while the United States has 50 university-level business-management schools, Russia has none.

"Liberman—When asked if he tries to inculcate his students with notions of profitability, he smiles and says, 'Yes, but very carefully: I say that it is my opinion, but there are many objections. I explain them all, and the students draw their own conclusions.'"

Business Week, October 31, 1964, page 99:

"Prices will be set by producers and retailers—not planners. Under the old system it took 6 to 12 months and the approval of nine different agencies to set a price on a new product.

"Employment will be determined by managers who can expand or contract their labor force freely. Wages will probably still be set by the state, but plant directors will be allowed to increase wages up to 50 percent, out of profits, for good worker performance."

Page 100:

"There are risks as well as potential gains in the Soviet experiment. Healthy competition will no doubt increase among factories for retail customers and among both factories and retailers for the consumer. With

competition will come a buildup of the marketing efforts that are already well underway.

"For the Russians, marketing expenditures are not such an easy pill to swallow; such 'wastes' were once considered among the misfortunes reserved for capitalism. It now appears that they are essential to any mass production-mass consumption economy."

Associated Press, March 27, 1965:

"The biggest task now," said first Secretary Brezhnev, "is to \* \* \* make a wider use of economic and moral incentives in all sections of production on collective and state farms, which should be allowed greater independence in their economic activities."

Newsweek, February 18, 1965:

"For Muscovites, long accustomed to only the meagerest selection of fresh produce in winter, the abundance available at the Central Peasant Market last week was a strange sight.

"One peasant who arrived in Moscow last week told Newsweek correspondent Robert Korengold that he had traveled 2 days and 2 nights from Baku, 2,200 miles away, and had laid out \$24.42 for his train ticket. But he added, he expected to clear about \$333 on the load of pears that he had brought with him. When a woman shopper exclaimed that 5 rubles (\$5.55) was far too much to pay for a kilo of pears, the man from Baku retorted: 'It's 5 rubles, lady, because you can't get things like that here in winter.'"

"Behind this new march on Moscow lies a decision by the new team in the Kremlin. They have ruled that a peasant no longer needs written permission to bring his wares to Moscow. In keeping with their tendency to favor economic policies that work regardless of whether they coincide with Marxist dogma, Russia's new rulers are apparently willing to tolerate an expanded private trade in food.

"As for the Moscow housewife, she's apparently delighted with all the fruits and vegetables now available. Said one Muscovite shopper: 'Maybe if this system works and the peasants keep producing, we will have so much that the prices will go down.'"

New York Times, March 28, 1965:

"Last December 9, Premier Kossygin casually announced, as though it were the most natural thing in the world, 'We shall proceed toward planning on the basis of orders placed by consumers in all branches of the national economy.'"

Central planning also involved a lot of change of plant managers who were moved around like civil servants during a reduction in force. The "first in line" got the job regardless of training or ability. Now they are throwing that out. Merit will be the basis for promotion, they say.

You can see how far things have gone when you realize that profits can now increase "bonuses" of workers by 40 percent and of managers by 50 percent, automatically, and the workers' bonuses can be "adjusted" by management. "Supply and demand, market research, business schools, free prices, hire and fire authority, arbitrary bonuses out of profits, merit promotions, competition, marketing efforts, economic policies that work." When you gather all those words together the jigsaw puzzle begins to take shape.

So remember, when you read in the papers about another way in which the Soviets are "copying" the West, they aren't exactly. This is no longer reluctant "copying" of isolated instances, they are simply following and expanding—rapidly—their new way of life.

Now, I could go on. There are more and more examples.

But the cat's out of the bag. The Russians have discovered our secret weapon.

No kidding.

So they've revolted again. This time it will work.

A6090

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

October 22, 1965

Pravda has announced a true truth: That nothing really happens until somebody buys something.

That, once out of hunger, they don't buy until they want to buy—and that businessmen who make them want to buy, legitimately, with attractive, high quality products and persuasive salesmen, are the heart of progress.

That, by and large, for most things, central planning, socialistic systems work for conservation—like parks—and protection—like the military and the Food and Drug Administration and social security but they're not much good for progress. And in the world we're in, we progress or die.

Progress requires an economic system that is market-oriented, profit-motivated (some incentive; usually but not necessarily money, of course), competitive, with decentralized, independent management.

This is the biggest joke on American party line followers in 100 years. I wish Mark Twain were still alive. He'd love this.

Can't you see the bearded party line pickets in Times Square carrying signs that shout: "Up with profit; down with central planning." "We want piecework now."

Of course, the Russians may flub this second chance. Politicians and politics can ruin any economic system, and in Russia this would be easy because the state—that is, the Communist Party—is the sole stockholder.

But there's no guarantee that even dedicated Communists will let this chance go by. The turnabout has been and is bound to be so dramatic that they'll think twice before they fire a good market-oriented manager.

Progress doesn't require private ownership of the tools of production, anyway. Freedom may, but not progress.

Prosperity doesn't know the difference between the state taking half the profits in taxes and giving half the profits in bonuses, as long as management is being measured by return on investment.

(Management that's free to make a legitimate profit is the key. Ansco film kept very competitive for 20 years even though the U.S. Government owned all the stock \* \* \* just as competitive as if a million stockholders had owned it.)

The government let General Aniline's management run the show as long as the "return on investment" stayed up, and that's what Russia's talking about.

Assuming that Russian leadership will be satisfied with the prosperity that the new system is sure to bring and will act pretty much like other stockholders, pretty soon the major difference in our two economic systems may be the words "capitalism" and "communism."

The important points are:

1. This old-fashioned market-oriented American system will work \* \* \* even if it's called the new Liberman plan \* \* \* no matter who owns the stock, as long as the managers are measured on profits, not politics (or even, as we know here in America, on a little of both) and the workers get bonuses, or raises, for making goods that sell.

2. Russia, if she keeps this up \* \* \* (and how can they put the chicken back in the egg?) \* \* \* Russia will grow productive, strong and powerful.

3. Once a country tastes the value of change and of the use of profitable new ideas, they won't want to go back. Prosperity keeps men in office. Next thing for the Russians to invent is the installment plan—consumer credit—and that won't be long now.

4. The Russians aren't "copying" bits and pieces of "Western methods" any more. What we see in the papers is not evidence of reluctant imitation but of the growth of

their own new total system. There's a subtle and important difference.

The satellites are in on this, too. Fact is, some of them are way ahead.

Czechoslovakia has decentralized authority and has shifted from plan-fulfillment to profits as a measure of managerial success. They call it "gross value realize," but as one Czech interviewed on TV recently said, "What counts is whether you sell the stuff and can do it at a profit."

Hungary has profit sharing and—hang on to your hats—the payment of interest on capital. The prime rate is 5 percent.

There's another bit of termite-steel. Interest is even worse than advertising to Marxists. Better keep your eye on Hungary. Or Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia, it turns out, has been on the profit system for quite awhile. In fact, they have actual stockholders, although only the workers themselves own the stock in the factory. Nevertheless, they've gone so far that a factory can go broke and all the management people lose their jobs if they fail to make a profit.

That's incentive.

And things are rapidly getting worse for Marx and Lenin.

By now, according to reports from a member of a recent trade mission, 85 percent of all arable land in Yugoslavia is back in private hands and any business employing five or fewer people can be privately owned.

There's no income tax on the first million dinars, with a 50-percent maximum tax.

They still call that "communism" in Yugoslavia. What would you call it?

Even East Germany is talking about it. Brand-name advertisements are appearing on the billboard kiosks here and there.

And you know how industrious the Germans are. If they are allowed to be effective, they have a tendency to be.

If they eat well and have choices—as you always do in a market-oriented, profit-motivated economy—then many won't be so desperate to leave East Germany. Businessmen, salesmen, marketing men and advertising men will pop up everywhere.

When that happens—for better or worse—the wall will come tumbling down.

Obviously, this tremendous 180° change in the Soviet economic system calls for a reexamination (not necessarily a change but a reexamination) of our attitudes and American foreign policy.

I warned you at the beginning that I was not going to assume that this change in economic theory would make Russia a bosom pal of the United States. Neither can I assume that it will make her more of an enemy. But in a way, the question of what to do about Russia's coming economic might is more perplexing than the what to do about the Chinese bomb \* \* \* because we know the bomb is evil as far as we are concerned, and we can't be sure whether Russia will use the atomic power of profits as a friend or as a foe.

Of course, some folks say that we've been drifting toward Government control, central planning, and deprofiting of American business and Government support of non-productive nonworkers to the point where it won't be long until we cross systems with Russia and change sides. Wouldn't that be something. And it could happen.

Certainly, we've just about wiped out production incentive pay only to find Russia thriving on it. Would our unions accept a 40 percent "you get it only if your production sells" bonus and "management discretion"?

And, honest now, that Czech on TV said, "We in Czechoslovakia now believe (get this) that 'what is good for society is also good for the individual company; and what is good for the individual company is good for society.'"

Ever hear anything like that before? When an American said that he almost got jeered out of the President's Cabinet.

Surely we want to avoid that switchover. But we'll have to watch our step.

For Russia is now on the right track, economically.

And we know that Russians are smart and capable, as well as clever, so there's no need for us to underestimate them.

They're wise to central planning and state-supported nonworkers by now—they've had a go at it. Forty long say years of it. Boy, how they must regret those wasted years.

Will they glorify initiative, profit, bonus, work, self-improvement, personal responsibility, opportunity, salesmanship \* \* \* and start spreading wealth the "American" way?

I think the odds are at least 80 to 20 that they will.

Well, you make the U.S. foreign policy. How are you going to react?

Do you want to encourage Russia toward a high-powered, highly motivated economic system? Should we show her how to build her market-oriented economy now that she's willing to listen?

Or, if we have any influence, should we try to talk her out of this "profitable idea"?

She'll be asking \* \* \* wanting to know how American salesmen do it. Asking for sales and advertising know-how.

Will encouragement and help just be aiding the enemy \* \* \* or will it be man's last great hope?

What will happen if we do drift toward a Government-controlled central-planning, nonincentive, state support for nonworkers, system \* \* \* until we cross the Russian drive toward their new, effective, decentralized, incentive, more-pay-for-more-effective-work system?

Will we then become the second most powerful nation in the world, economically?

Is this how they hope to "bury" us—with our own discarded weapons?

You make policy in the United States. What do you think?

Cuban

## Cuban Refugees

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, last week I called upon the appropriate committees of Congress to insure that any agreement between Cuba and the United States on the entry of Cuban refugees into this country must contain certain conditions and safeguards for the south Florida area as well as the United States.

The response to that speech, Mr. Speaker, has been most gratifying. The chairmen of the appropriate subcommittees have assured me of their full consideration. Already the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs has held hearings.

Especially gratifying to me and to all the people of south Florida has been the expression by people in all parts of the United States of a willingness to assume both this privilege and the burden of additional thousands of Cuban refugees.

Congress has recognized that the refugee problem is a national one, and I am happy that in this case it so ably reflects

must be counted as jobless when they lose a job and search for another, the Department argues.

There is evidence, though, that any judgment of the seriousness of current unemployment requires more than just an awareness of the over-all jobless rate. Interviews with more than 50 jobless individuals such as Mr. Anderson and Mrs. Barita, at State unemployment offices and other spots in the Youngstown, Pittsburgh, and Erie, Pa., areas and talks with State and Federal employment specialists in a number of States suggest that hard-core unemployment is a much smaller problem than the Government's official jobless figure would indicate.

#### FEW ARE UNDER REAL STRAIN

This survey indicates that a large segment of the ranks of the currently unemployed is made up of persons only temporarily idle while between jobs or not seeking employment in any more than a cursory manner. Another sizable group includes wives, sons or daughters of the family breadwinner, who often don't have to support their families. Many others are people who find it difficult to get work because of old age, lack of training, education or physical or emotional capability.

A sampling of unemployed persons in Youngstown and Erie turned up 34 family household heads out of work. Of these, only four had been jobless longer than 3 months, or were actively looking for work and were without immediate prospects. Among 16 nonbreadwinners, only one wanted work and hadn't found it for some time. The rest were either laid off seasonally, were between jobs, or indicated they weren't under much strain to find another. Of the five who could be classed as hard-core unemployed, one was a heart patient and one an alcoholic.

Such a sampling itself can be misleading, of course, since such persons as the large number of teenagers in the market and the unemployed who've exhausted their State payments obviously don't show up at State compensation offices. Nonetheless, nearly two-thirds of the Nation's unemployed are covered by such payments. And many State employment officials say their over-all jobless rates are no longer cause for major concern. This gives evidence that the brisk economy is, for now anyway, overcoming the effects of automation on employment.

In Ohio, where the jobless rate is about 8 percent Beman Pound, director of unemployment compensation, exclaims, "It's almost fantastic that you can get down this low in an industrial State. I don't know what full employment is, but this is getting pretty close."

The Journal survey turned up a good many persons even among jobless pay recipients who weren't eager to find any job other than one they might be recalled to, and some none at all.

One reason for their lack of concern is that their joblessness is only temporary and not hurting too much financially. U.S. long-term unemployment (15 weeks or more) was under 1 percent at mid-September. State officials maintain that a considerable amount of short-term unemployment is inevitable as the result of such things as businesses closing and new ones starting, seasonal fluctuations and other changes.

"I don't want to take any job that isn't better than the one I had," says a laid-off machine operator at a toy factory in Erie. He was put out of work about 2½ months earlier because of the plant's seasonal close-down, but with full expectation of early recall. Meanwhile, he has been subsisting on unemployment compensation.

Many of the interviewed jobseekers weren't overly eager to find work even though they had no long-term prospects for getting employment. Mr. Anderson, the retired steel plant worker, is a case in point. He says he was forced to retire at 65 in 1963 and couldn't find a desirable job afterward—

one comparable to his \$575-a-month mill position.

"What the heck—they don't bother with an old man—too many young fellows out looking for work," Mr. Anderson snorts. He finally gave up seriously trying to find a job, though he still makes some modest attempts, at least while drawing unemployment compensation benefits. Those benefits, which lately ran about \$85 a month, supplemented \$70 in pension from the steel mill, \$124 in social security benefits and a \$48-per-month veteran's pension. The jobless pay ran out in June, but in September Mr. Anderson's wife started drawing \$46.50 monthly in social security benefits of her own. "I really didn't need a job," Mr. Anderson admits; his income and living expenses "run nip and tuck."

A retired storm window salesman interviewed in the Youngstown office of the State bureau of unemployment compensation expresses a similar lack of fervor about seeking work. He says he spends 4½ months every winter as a racetrack betting teller in Florida, then comes home to Youngstown and collects jobless pay. "I'm 77—I can't get work here," he explains.

State employment offices and private agencies cite numerous instances of jobs going begging either because many persons ostensibly in the labor force don't particularly want a job or are too selective in what they'll accept—as to pay or type of work. State unemployment officials in New York City report difficulty in filling such relatively unattractive and low-paying jobs as shirt-pressers in dry cleaning shops. And "thousands" of employable young persons in the Philadelphia area are "not only not work-oriented, but hardly even trying to find work," according to Jack Brown, executive director of Pennsylvania's Bureau of Employment Security.

#### SOME JOBS SNUBBED

Employment agencies say that many persons who once would have filled domestic-help positions now turn up their noses at being cooks, cleaning women, or maids, causing a surplus of such jobs. Servants willing to live in the homes where they work are especially hard to find, agencies say.

Part of the problem of heavy Negro unemployment, jobless experts add, is that Negroes no longer are willing to fill the menial jobs that they traditionally have held. The civil rights movement of the last few years has helped foster a resentment toward such work, they say, and the low pay of many such jobs often doesn't offer enough attraction to Negroes who are already getting relief benefits.

Harry King, a 40-year-old Negro who formerly drew \$1.75 an hour washing windows of high-rise buildings, lost his job last summer when the washing concern folded. He's been taking in \$100 a month, often less, by odd painting jobs. He also gets \$41.50 twice a month on relief. Standing on a street corner in Pittsburgh's Hill district, a Negro ghetto, Mr. King makes it clear that he doesn't want any job that pays under \$70 a week. "What's the sense of my taking a job for less?" he asks. "By the time I pay carfare and my rent, I've got nothing left. Very few people mind working, but they'd like to get something for it."

There are also a number of jobless persons who want work and probably could find it if they were willing or able to move to get available jobs. When a major steel company interviewed over 1,200 men laid off when Studebaker Corp. closed its South Bend, Ind., plant in an attempt to fill openings for steelworkers at a mill about 50 miles away, only 3 ended up being hired.

"I would have said that everybody we interviewed was suitable—we'd have taken them, but they didn't take us," comments an official of the steel company.

Many jobless persons, to be sure, are serious about wanting work. But, it is also clear, an important segment of that group

isn't in dire need of jobs and their inclusion in Government statistics on the unemployed appears to paint an unduly gloomy picture.

#### CUBAN REFUGEE SITUATION

(Mr. HARVEY of Indiana (at the request of Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, on my monthly radio-TV broadcast, which goes back to my congressional district in Indiana, I had as my guest yesterday my good friend and colleague, Congressman PAUL ROGERS of Florida.

Because of Mr. ROGERS' interest and understanding of the Cuban refugee situation and, since he represents a section of south Florida, it is my feeling that the Congress and the Nation should be interested in Congressman ROGERS' observations.

During our discussion, I am happy to say, Congressman ROGERS offered many enlightening observations; however, one of the most important referred to the fact that Castro unilaterally initiated the recent sending of refugees to our shores, without the consideration or the release of hostages or political prisoners.

Mr. ROGERS went on to say that it is indeed a pitiful sight to see these people landing on our shores in boats of all kinds. It was also mentioned that it is unfortunate the Organization of American States has not been invited to play a more predominant role in the final determination of the fate of these people.

As a Congressman from the Midwest it seems appropriate to remind my colleagues that this problem is not a localized problem, affecting only Florida, but it is a national problem involving security.

The fact remains that our intelligence sources were caught completely off guard by Castro's announcement and the problem of screening processes—which must necessarily go on to insure that Castro is not planting agents in the United States—is a real difficult one which I believe the Congress should concern itself with. With Cuba now a Communist satellite in our hemisphere every precaution must be taken to insure the authenticity of these refugees.

Insofar as the reuniting of families is concerned, there is no question about the justifiable humanitarian side of this problem. We owe the State of Florida our applause for what she is doing for these people; however, as it relates to the Nation, it seems in order to remind the Nation of the Communist doctrine as it tries to infiltrate and conquer from within.

Again, my thanks to Congressman ROGERS for sharing his valuable time with me and the people of the 10th Congressional District in Indiana.

#### PROPOSAL TO MAKE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PART OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND

(Mr. BETTS (at the request of Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this

out, would train at the same time for the new job, not with company X, but with company Y. Of course, company X should not be charged with the cost of the retraining from which it derives no economic benefit. However, it would be relatively easy to set up the mechanism whereby the costs of retraining could be borne by the ultimate user. Furthermore, the Federal tax laws inhibit, instead of encourage, the mobility and flexibility of labor which are so vital in coping with frictional and structural unemployment.

Probably the reality most often overlooked is that the displaced worker frequently is not the one best suited to be trained to take on the newly created job. The obsolete jobs tend to be considerably inferior to the jobs newly created by automation. Furthermore, the jobs going begging today are jobs which demand skills higher than the national average of skills. The process of training for the high skills in demand usually requires that a person holding down a good job upgrade his skill in order to prepare for the new and better job. His old job then becomes available for someone below him in the ladder of skills, who will upgrade his skill in a similar and simultaneous manner through night school or on-the-job training. Meeting the changes demanded by automation requires a massive and constant upgrading process all along society's ladder of skills.

A person holding down a job which is too easy for him does a disservice to himself, to society, and to the person with less natural abilities who could be doing the less demanding job. For example, a person with two arms who preempts a job which a one-armed man might do and who refuses to undertake an available job which requires two arms thwarts the upgrading process which automation demands.

Finally, I would observe that possibly we face a problem which has never before been presented to us quite so clearly. Yet it is an age-old problem. With the continued upgrading of skills and with greater emphasis upon brain instead of brawn, those who were born with very limited mental talents could be phased out of the labor market. Throughout much of history the person deficient in brawn tended to be an economic drone. A similar situation may now be developing with regard to those endowed with very limited mental capacities. However, I believe that by a system of proper job analysis we can find a sufficient number of economically sound jobs which persons of limited IQ can perform. Even many of those we presently institutionalize can perform useful tasks during a period of cybernation. After all, a human brain with a 60 IQ is still a much more versatile and usable thinking apparatus, particularly with regard to dealing with variables, than the most talented computer.

#### MANY IN UNEMPLOYMENT COUNT DO NOT COUNT

(Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the administration places a strong emphasis on reducing the unemployment rate to an arbitrarily defined level. This level is now set at 4 percent of the work force as measured by our present Bureau of Labor Statistics—BLS. The administration seems to forget that our unemployment series gives us at best a very crude indication of real unemployment. Criticism comes from opposite

sides, one side arguing from time to time that the series underestimates real unemployment, the other side arguing that it overestimates real unemployment. My own judgment is that probably both sides are correct. When we are in an economic downturn the series tends to underestimate and in periods of economic upturn it overestimates.

A recent survey conducted by the Wall Street Journal indicates that the present estimate of unemployment, 4.4 percent of the work force in September, is unrealistically high and that determination of the real significance of the present level of unemployment requires more than just an awareness of the overall jobless rate. The survey concluded that a large segment of the group presently labeled "unemployed" is made up of persons only temporarily idle while between jobs or not seeking employment in any more than a cursory manner. Another sizable portion includes wives, sons, or daughters of the family breadwinner. These unemployed often do not need work to support their families. Many others are people who find it difficult to get work because of old age, lack of training, education or physical or emotional capability.

There is a further sign that unemployment may not be as bad as the statistical sampling leads us to believe. State employment offices and private agencies cite numerous instances of jobs going begging either because many persons ostensibly in the labor force do not really want a job or are too selective in what pay or type of work they will select. What is true, I believe, is that there is a high incidence of people not working in our society, not working because of lack or incentive or lack of skills, not because of a lack of jobs. Not working is not the same as unemployed as defined in our BLS unemployment statistics.

The proof of this important fact lies in a statistical series to which too little attention has been paid; namely, the "Labor Force Participation Rate." In 1964 that rate was 57.4 percent, the lowest since 1947. The rate in 1956 was 59.3 percent, and averaged 58.54 percent for the decade 1951-60. The average for the first 4 years of this decade 1961-64 is 57.51 percent. If the labor force participation rate in 1964 was 59.3 percent as it was in 1956, and not 57.4 percent, 2,548,717 more men and women would have been in the labor force. Attention is directed to the following:

#### Labor force participation rate

|           | Percent |
|-----------|---------|
| 1947..... | 57.4    |
| 1948..... | 57.9    |
| 1949..... | 58.0    |
| 1950..... | 58.4    |
| 1951..... | 58.9    |
| 1952..... | 58.8    |
| 1953..... | 58.5    |
| 1954..... | 58.4    |
| 1955..... | 59.7    |
| 1956..... | 59.3    |
| 1957..... | 58.7    |
| 1958..... | 58.5    |
| 1959..... | 58.3    |
| 1960..... | 58.3    |
| 1961..... | 58.0    |
| 1962..... | 57.4    |
| 1963..... | 57.3    |
| 1964..... | 57.4    |

For 1965 the monthly unadjusted figures are:

|               |      |
|---------------|------|
| January.....  | 55.9 |
| February..... | 56.4 |
| March.....    | 56.5 |
| April.....    | 56.9 |
| May.....      | 57.7 |
| June.....     | 59.3 |
| July.....     | 59.8 |

I include this article from the October 13 Wall Street Journal entitled "Who's Still Jobless?" in the Record at this point.

WHO IS STILL JOBLESS?—MANY IN GOVERNMENT'S COUNT ARE NOT UNDER STRAIN TO WORK

(By Albert R. Karr)

YOUNGSTOWN.—William J. Anderson, 66, relaxes on a lounge chair on the front porch of his modest home here and relates how he retired as a steel plant millwright late in 1963. He looked for a job until his Ohio unemployment compensation ran out last June and since then has taken life easy.

"I do not want to be tied down anymore—I worked since I was 10 years old and that was long enough," he says.

In nearby Hubbard, Ohio, Mrs. Kay Barita, 52, leaves her chores in her paneled kitchen long enough to tell a visitor how she worked for 20 years until she was laid off at a meat packing factory last fall. For half a year she drew \$42 a week in jobless pay, which came on top of her husband's take-home pay of about \$125 a week. She tried until recently to find a new job. Now, she says, "They have my name. If they need anybody, they can just call me."

Mr. Anderson and Mrs. Barita are among a good many people throughout the United States who recently have been looking for a job. Also, like an unknown number of others, they haven't been particularly eager to find work, are not in serious need of employment and are not readily employable.

Significantly, either one conceivably could have been counted as unemployed in the U.S. Government's monthly survey of the Nation's work force and thus contributed to the sample on which Uncle Sam calculated the percent of the work force that is jobless. Any interviewees who say they are not working and are looking for a job are classed as unemployed. Yet neither Mr. Anderson nor Mrs. Barita would seem to fit most people's notion of the "hard-core unemployed"—those desperate for jobs who are searching for any means to keep themselves and their families clothed and fed.

#### FIGURES UNDER FIRE

How typical are people like Mr. Anderson and Mrs. Barita among the unemployed? No one knows for sure, partly because it is nearly impossible to say whether a particular person really wants a job and needs it. But there is a growing amount of criticism of use of the Government's raw figures on the total unemployed.

Administration officials were pleased that the official jobless rate dropped to 4.5 percent of the work force in mid-July, the lowest since 1957, in the face of a seasonal influx of teenagers in the job market, and fell further to 4.4 percent in mid-September. But they still express concern at even this much unemployment in a record-shattering economy.

Many of the critics say that the 4.4 percent figure is unrealistically high and is used wrongly to justify Government measures aimed at creating jobs. Federal officials, while admitting their jobless estimate is an imperfect measure of unemployment, say that any alternative method might understate or overstate the problem even more. So-called "secondary workers" such as teenagers and married women are included in the listing of unemployed, the Labor Department says, because they account for over one-fourth of all workers; if they're to be counted as employed when working, they



point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, only with the thought of trying to be helpful, I am offering a plan for the solution of the District of Columbia problem. In doing this, I make the following observations:

First, pure home rule is difficult to resolve because of a genuine constitutional question as well as the inability to solve the problem of financing;

Second, representation by a nonvoting delegate is no representation at all;

Third, giving the District two Senators and representation in the House on the basis of its population elevates it to the rank of a State when, as a matter of law and fact, it is only a city; and

Fourth, it is, however, difficult to deny any community as large and important as the District of Columbia the right of representation in the Federal Congress. This is more justified than home rule. After all, representation is basic in our philosophy of government.

I have therefore introduced a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing that, for the purpose of representation in Congress, the District shall be considered a part of the State of Maryland. This would permit its local government to remain, as now, under the legislative control of Congress. But it would provide representation in the body which controls it. The two Maryland Senators would represent both the State and the District and be elected by the voters of both the State and the District. The District of Columbia would be divided into congressional districts as if it were a part of Maryland and, for the purpose of redistricting, Maryland and the District would be considered together as if they were one State.

This plan could not be classified as retrocession because nothing would be ceded to Maryland. It would leave the District just as it is, a Federal city under legislative control of Congress, but, at the same time give its residents representation in Congress.

Such a proposal does, however, conflict with the 23d amendment, which treats the District as an entity. This difficulty is best overcome by repeal of the 23d amendment and inclusion of its provision in the new proposal. The resolution reads as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the Congress.*

“ARTICLE —

“SECTION 1. The twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

“SEC. 2. For the purposes of representation in both Houses of the Congress and the appointment of electors of President and Vice President, the District of Columbia shall be considered as part of the State of Maryland.

“SEC. 3. Section 2 shall not take effect until the transmission by the President to the Congress of the statement, as provided in section 22 of the Act of June 18, 1929 (2 U.S.C. 2a), showing the number of Representatives to which each State would be

entitled following the next decennial census of the population after the ratification of this article.”

CONGRESSMAN CLEVELAND COMMENTS ON RESULTS OF SECOND NEW HAMPSHIRE DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, for the third successive year, I have sent questionnaires to my constituents and wish to take this opportunity of presenting the results to the House. I wish I could also share with my colleagues the many interesting and constructive comments which constituents returned with their answers but space limitations do not permit.

The questionnaire was mailed generally to all postal patrons in my district last June. I believe the replies are an important indication of how a large group of thoughtful citizens feel about some of the current issues facing the Nation.

LUMP LEGISLATION

Because so many of the legislative proposals of the Great Society come to us packaged in large omnibus bills containing numerous, distinctly separate programs under one attractive-sounding title, it proved difficult to frame questions that could be answered “yes” or “no.” There is a growing tendency to legislate by lump and by label, a tendency I view with concern. This situation, however, provides no excuse for not asking the people how they feel on the issues and, although I do not always agree with my constituency—and certainly all of them do not always agree with me—I think it is important to the cause of good government that issues be discussed and ideas exchanged.

In the following reporting of the results, I have noted not only the “yes,” “no” and “not sure” tabulations but also the figures showing the number of blanks, which in some instances are significant. Question 9(c), for example, apparently was poorly drafted as indicated by the large number who did not answer it.

DISTRICT SWITCHES ON FOREIGN AID

Perhaps the most significant information provided by the results is the general disfavor now accorded by my district to the foreign aid program. My previous polls had not clearly indicated this. It is obvious that my constituents now feel that the foreign aid program should be carefully reevaluated and I agree.

Before getting to the results, I want to comment briefly on my own positions on the questions. Many constituents who replied asked how I felt on these issues and I think they are entitled to know.

CLEVELAND ANSWERS QUESTIONNAIRE

I am on record as supporting U.S. policy generally in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, although reserving, of course, the right to criticize these policies when I think they are

wrong. My chief criticism continues to be that our Government has not made our intentions to stand by our commitments clear enough. Such failures, in my opinion, have always encouraged miscalculations by aggressors.

I voted again this year to continue the foreign aid program, although I voted for the moderate cuts that were made and voted, also, against continuing aid to Indonesia and Egypt, and countries trading with North Vietnam.

AGAINST REPEAL OF 14(b)

I voted against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act. I supported the voting rights bill, after first cosponsoring and voting for the broader, more equitable Republican alternative, which, among other things, would have retained literacy tests where not clearly discriminatory. Also, I voted for the clean elections amendment proposed by Republicans to help insure that ballots are honestly cast and counted.

I have long favored increasing a Congressman's term from 2 to 4 years, but only if there is added a limit on the number of terms that a Congressman can serve consecutively.

GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

Although I strongly oppose Senator Dodd's gun control bill (S. 1592) because it goes too far, I do feel that strengthening of Federal control over the distribution of firearms is in order. I will support legislation that bans the shipment across State lines of mail-order weapons to those under 18 and to persons with felony convictions. I would support Federal control over the transportation of concealed firearms, and I would support legislation to impose increased penalties for crimes involving the misuse of firearms, and legislation to curb the flood of foreign firearms that are being dumped here. In my opinion, the foregoing objectives can be obtained without denying ownership of firearms to American citizens of good repute using them for lawful purposes. Legitimate gun dealers, hobbyists and sportsmen need not be penalized nor should any legislation be permitted to infringe on a citizen's right to keep and bear arms as guaranteed by the second amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

NEW DEPARTMENT—FARM SUBSIDIES—IMMIGRATION

I voted against creating the new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, supporting instead the Republican proposal to create a new office of Housing in the Executive Office of the President. This would have done the job more efficiently, I believe, and was far more comprehensive. I strongly favor limiting the dollar amount of subsidies that could be paid to any one farm or farmer. Evidence from governmental sources shows that Federal farm subsidies are going to large farm operations in disproportionate amounts while the small farmer is not being helped.

I voted for the new immigration law, the chief purposes of which are to permit the reuniting of families, the entry of persons with needed skills, and the abolition of the outmoded national origins quota systems.



October 21, 1965

## DRAFT—IMPORTS—REFORMS NEEDED

I oppose ending the military draft but favor a revision of procedures to guarantee fairer and more equitable treatment for all young men.

I favor Federal income tax exemptions or credits for the cost of higher education and have introduced legislation to accomplish this purpose.

I favor quantitative restrictions or agreed upon quotas to limit imports of

woolen products as promised by the Administration for 4 years, and also restrictions and quotas for other imports of a similar nature. Beyond that, I have long advocated a general reform of the U.S. tariff schedule so that the rates of duties will reflect the differing wage rates in foreign countries shipping goods to us. New rates should also reflect those cases where the manufacturing of goods being shipped to the United States is being sub-

sidized by foreign governments. The purpose of such rates would not be protectionism in the traditional sense. The purpose would be to establish more equitable conditions of international competition, orderly marketing, expanded foreign trade, and improved standards of living for all.

I voted against the administration's rent-subsidy plan.

## Questionnaire results

| In general, do you favor—   | Yes   | No    | Not sure | Blank |
|---|-------|-------|----------|-------|
| 1. U.S. policy in Vietnam?  | 4,415 | 1,568 | 873      | 198   |
| 2. U.S. policy in the Dominican Republic?   | 4,699 | 1,181 | 964      | 218   |
| 3. Continuing the foreign aid program?  | 2,602 | 3,068 | 1,003    | 379   |
| 4. Continuing aid to Indonesia and Egypt?   | 780   | 4,964 | 1,045    | 253   |
| 5. Repeal of sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows States to pass right-to-work laws?   | 1,713 | 4,161 | 872      | 296   |
| 6. (a) Federal legislation to guarantee voting rights?  | 5,353 | 1,072 | 286      | 331   |
| (b) Retaining literacy tests where these are not discriminatory and not just used to prevent Negroes from voting?                             | 5,880 | 787   | 235      | 160   |
| (c) A "clean elections" amendment to insure a fair vote count?  | 6,126 | 257   | 418      | 241   |
| 7. Increasing Congressmen's terms from 2 to 4 years?  | 3,999 | 2,332 | 590      | 121   |
| 8. Limiting the number of terms a Congressman can serve?  | 2,283 | 4,097 | 479      | 183   |
| 9. (a) Stronger Federal legislation to control sales of guns?   | 4,176 | 2,429 | 301      | 136   |
| (b) Ending mail-order sales of all guns?  | 3,869 | 2,717 | 307      | 149   |
| (c) Limiting ban to concealed weapons, e.g., pistols?   | 2,827 | 2,692 | 976      | 548   |
| 10. A new Cabinet-level Department to deal with public housing and urban affairs?   | 1,924 | 3,876 | 1,096    | 146   |
| 11. A top limit on subsidies paid to any one farmer or farm to spread benefits which now heavily favor big operators?                         | 5,880 | 495   | 443      | 224   |
| 12. Changing our present national origins system of immigration to permit entry of persons with needed skills regardless of national origins? | 3,656 | 2,540 | 695      | 151   |
| 13. Permitting persons with close relatives in the United States to enter without regard to country of origin?                                | 2,493 | 3,455 | 891      | 203   |
| 14. Ending the military draft?  | 1,282 | 5,097 | 406      | 258   |
| 15. Federal tax exemptions or credits for costs of higher education?  | 5,088 | 1,336 | 463      | 155   |
| 16. Quantitative restrictions or agreed-upon quotas to limit imports of woolen products (as promised for the past 4 years)?                   | 4,496 | 1,267 | 1,077    | 202   |
| 17. Restrictions on other imports of a similar nature?  | 4,132 | 1,499 | 1,170    | 251   |
| 18. President Johnson's proposal to subsidize rent for low-income families in lieu of additional public housing?                              | 1,528 | 4,339 | 962      | 213   |

## FURTHER COMMENT ON CONDITIONS AT THE SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

(Mr. SAYLOR (at the request of Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Members will recall that on Tuesday, the 19th, I made reference in the RECORD and quoted a number of passages from an official report of the Veterans' Administration concerning conditions at the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Salt Lake City, Utah. May I emphasize that the report is an official VA report; it is not conclusions or findings on my part.

This morning, I was visited by the Associate Deputy Administrator, the Deputy Chief Medical Director, and an Assistant Chief Medical Director, who presented me with the following statement on behalf of Dr. McNinch, the Chief Medical Director, which I ask unanimous consent to insert as a part of my remarks at this point:

STATEMENT BY DR. JOSEPH H. MCNINCH, VA'S CHIEF MEDICAL DIRECTOR, ON THE SALT LAKE CITY VA HOSPITAL

The recent publicity of alleged irregularities at the Salt Lake City VA Hospital was based on a report by VA's own internal audit service following an extensive audit of station activities. Such audits are conducted periodically within the VA organization as a sound management device to assure the adequacy of personnel and programs.

A followup study of the report by our Department of Medicine and Surgery generally supported the findings of the internal audit service, and corrective action has been taken.

I am satisfied personally that the hospital is rendering excellent medical care to sick and disabled veterans, and that the administrative laxities that were uncovered have been ended.

By far the most serious of the allegations was that resident physicians had refused a nurse's request to check the condition of a patient she believed to be seriously ill. The hospital director confirmed this allegation, and reported that it involved isolated incidents on just one of the many wards at the hospital—a geriatric ward. Partly to blame was a misunderstanding between the psychiatric service and the medical service as to supervisory responsibility for the geriatric ward.

The officer-of-the-day physician determined to be primarily responsible for non-response to the nurse's request was reprimanded by the hospital chief of staff the day immediately following the first incident. When the same resident physician—who has since left VA's employ—again failed to respond in a similar situation, the patient was seen in a matter of minutes by another physician. Although some irregularities included in the audit report required further investigation and confirmation, I considered the failure of physicians to respond to call so serious that, when I received the audit report, I took immediate action to require the director to take measures to assure there would be no repetition of such incidents. I have received assurances that there will be none.

On October 12, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs approved disciplinary actions recommended by me in connection with the total report on the hospital. These actions, which are now being carried out, will be noted in the official records for each of staff members involved.

Mr. Speaker, I also insert as a part of my remarks the text of letters presented to me by officials of the Veterans' Administration at their conference previously referred to:

HOSPITAL DIRECTOR,  
VA Hospital,  
Salt Lake City, Utah.

Dear —: I have had presented to me the report of internal audit that was conducted at your station from May 19 to July 23. This report has some 210 recommendations. These are not yet fully staffed out because of the brief time that has elapsed since receipt.

There are three items which do not need further staff work to announce my positive position. I want my positive position to be known to you and I desire that you make this position crystal clear to every member of your professional staff.

Item 1: It is set forth in the audit report (p. VIII-2) that "some service chiefs state that their primary responsibility is to the teaching program first, research second, and the care of the veteran third." Nothing could be farther from the truth. I have on many occasions stated in strong language that the primary mission of DM & S is the care and treatment of the veteran patient. It is for the purpose of strengthening our medical competency to achieve this goal that we engage in the most worthwhile activities of research and teaching. It does the VA medical program irreparable damage to have members of the professional staff disseminate such ill conceived and fallacious views. You are directed to take immediate steps to see that these staff members are properly oriented to the mission of DM & S.

Item 2: I am most distressed to read in the internal audit report (p. VIII 4-5) about the difficulties that your station is experiencing in getting proper OD coverage of the geriatric ward. It is inconceivable that physicians will refuse to respond to emergency calls from nurses who are caring for these patients as apparently is occurring at your station. Has the age of specialization advanced (regressed) to that degree that specialists have relinquished their professional and moral obligations to the sufferer.

AUGUST 30, 1965.

Let's wait and see \* \* \* and hope that, in reasonable time and in spite of summer, there soon will be action for a more beautiful Seattle.

### CUBA IN FOCUS

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, an articulate and dedicated Harvard-trained Cuban exile, Dr. Nestor Carbonell, Jr., delivered a speech early this year which escaped the attention of the Nation's press. Dr. Carbonell addressed the Second Annual Conference on Latin American Affairs at Princeton University on April 24, 1965. His four-part speech was entitled, "Cuba in Focus." I recommend it to the attention of my colleagues and readers of the RECORD and ask that it be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CUBA IN FOCUS

(Address delivered by Dr. Nestor Carbonell, Jr., at the Second Annual Conference on Latin American Affairs, Princeton University, on April 24, 1965)

##### I. TRUTHS VERSUS FALLACIES

I welcome this opportunity to participate in this seminar on Cuba, organized under the auspices of a leading university which promotes the exchange of ideas, the confrontation of opinions, in an atmosphere of freedom and respect for all.

I value very highly the inalienable right to concur or dissent which we are exercising here today, for I come from a country where this right no longer exists. It has been abolished by a regime which boasts of having popular support, but does not dare to hold free elections; which claims to be fulfilling the economic and social needs of the people of Cuba, but has had to ration food, clothing, and other essentials of human life. A regime which promised to embrace the doctrine of humanism, but has resorted to purges, massive arrests and deportations, and to the firing squad. A regime which purported to convert the barracks of the Batista dictatorship into schools, but has transformed the island into the second military power of this hemisphere. A regime which announced the mass distribution of private estates and farms among the peasants, but which instead created large State cooperatives, policed by the government and opposed by an increasing number of peasants, whose resistance or lack of interest has determined a decline of more than 45 percent in the levels of agricultural production. A regime which raised the banner of national independence and self-determination, but has converted Cuba into a Soviet colony which threatens the peace and security of the hemisphere and disrupts the Alliance for Progress plans of economic development and social reforms for Latin America.

##### II. HOW DID IT HAPPEN?

You may still wonder how could this have happened to the freedom-loving people of Cuba; how could this Communist takeover have occurred only 90 miles off the coasts of the United States? The answer could be summarized as follows:

The Batista dictatorship weakened the democratic institutions and corrupted and demoralized the upper echelons of the army to the point where it collapsed when the dictator fled under the pressure exerted by national resistance and by the embargo upon shipments of arms to Cuba decreed by the Government of the United States. Castro, entrenched in the mountains and portrayed as an evangelic redeemer by a

formidable international propaganda apparatus, took advantage of the political vacuum which ensued. His promises of freedom, honesty in public administration and economic and social reforms under our 1940 Constitution, were only intended to give him time to place his men in key posts and to lay the foundations of the Communist regime.

When demagogic slogans did not suffice to calm the people of Cuba, the Castro regime resorted to class struggle and to the dissemination of terror. Thousands of Cubans from all walks of life were either arrested, executed, or exiled. In spite of this, internal resistance, which included sabotage in the cities and guerrillas in the mountains, began to undermine the regime. Then came the Bay of Pigs disaster which allowed Castro to defeat the invading forces and to capture many of the underground leaders who had not been informed of the details of the invasion. Notwithstanding this major defeat, internal resistance grew again, and it grew so powerful, that the Castro regime pierced the veil of Communist secrecy to secure the open and massive military aid from the Soviet bloc.

Even though the captive people of Cuba have not received the corresponding support from the Americas, in accordance with the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the struggle against Communist domination continues inside Cuba, and the ramifications of the conspiracy against the Castro regime have reached the upper strata of the army and the militia, which at this very moment are being subjected to another violent and indiscriminate purge.

##### III. WHY CUBA?

Why was Cuba chosen by international communism as its launching pad for subversion and aggression in this hemisphere? A close look at the map of the Americas will give us the answer. From a geo-political standpoint, Cuba lies in the center of what has been called the American Mediterranean. Ever since its discovery by Columbus in 1492, Cuba has been regarded as a key to the new world.

In connection with the strategic importance of Cuba and the threat posed by its progressive fortification and subversive activities, a noted American strategist, Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, stated the following:

"Cuba stands astride the north-south sea lanes upon which the wartime survival and the economic well-being of the Americas depend. It commands the Caribbean and the Atlantic approaches to the Panama Canal."

"The Russian takeover of Cuba constitutes the most significant strategic achievement of world communism since the fall of mainland China in the Red orbit. What it means is that Russian communism has leap-frogged NATO, jumped the Atlantic, which historically has been our protecting moat, and established a bastion in the strategic heart of the Western Hemisphere." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Appendix\*, July 25, 1963, pp. A4697-A4698.)

The entire hemisphere, especially the Latin American republics, have suffered the lethal effects of the Communist takeover of Cuba, which is used as a training center for Latin American terrorists, as an arsenal which supplies arms and ammunitions to Communist guerrillas, primarily in Colombia, Venezuela, and Guatemala, and as headquarters for Soviet espionage, propaganda and infiltration in the Americas.

Today, two and a half years after the October missile crisis, the fortification of the Island continues under the direction of Soviet experts. Military installations are still being constructed or enlarged, some of them connected with reinforced caves and tunnels, or with the deep bays of Cuba.

The Cuban underground has recently re-

ported the arrival of a great variety of highly sensitive electronic equipment from the Soviet Union, supplementing those previously installed in Cuba. It is very difficult to determine at this time the purpose or implications of this electronic buildup. However, it is pertinent to recall that the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee of the United States disclosed not too long ago that "the potential exists to establish electronic warfare capabilities based on Cuba," and that "potentially, Cuba is a base from which the Soviets could interdict our vital air and sea lanes. It can now be used for the air, sea, and electronic surveillance of our military activities in the Southeast United States and the Caribbean." (Interim report on the Cuban military build-up issued by the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, May 9, 1963.)

##### IV. WHAT TO DO

Faced with this grave challenge, what can we do?

The majority of freedom-loving Cubans do not expect, nor desire to turn back the clock of history, but rather look to the future for opportunities to attain social and economic progress and political stability under freely elected governments. With this in our mind and in our heart, we shall continue to exercise our inherent right to struggle against oppression.

This right, which is also a solemn obligation, shall not be relinquished now as it was not relinquished during the 30-year struggle against Spanish colonial rule. Resistance against the Cuban Communist regime shall continue through all possible means, including sabotage, infiltration and psychological and guerrilla warfare; with full knowledge that the odds are now against us, but with the firm conviction that the will of our freedom-loving people shall ultimately prevail.

Our objective is not only to recover our national independence and our right to self-determination, but also to prevent a major world conflagration which would certainly ensue if international communism is allowed to endure in Cuba and to make new inroads upon Latin America.

As we continue this bitter struggle, we trust that this great country will honor the 1947 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and the 1962 Congressional Joint Resolution on Cuba, whereby the United States committed itself to "work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving Cubans to support the aspirations of the Cuban people for self-determination."

From this powerful and generous country we expect the recognition of our belligerence and the aid consistent with its national interests and worldwide commitments.

International communism cannot and will not separate us. In times of peril and in times of peace, in times of sorrow and in times of joy, in times of despair and in times of hope, we shall remain united. For Cuba and the United States are indissolubly linked by geography, history, and the common ideals of freedom and progress under God.

##### WATER SHORTAGES

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I have addressed the Senate on several occasions during this session on the question of water shortages and the urgent need to increase our supplies of potable water. We must redouble our efforts in solving the problems of pollution. We must conserve our water through control of evaporation. We must experiment with weather modification in order to provide more water. We must divert from

surplus areas to water deficient areas. We must desalinate our sea water and convert our brackish water into fresh, pure water. We must work with our neighbors to bring water from remote areas of the continent into the dry areas of this great North American Continent. Today, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to recent publications on water and suggest that they be read in full.

The first is the October 23 issue of the Saturday Review which contains a series of articles under the general heading, "The Crisis in Water." Since the articles are lengthy, I do not ask that they be reprinted in the RECORD, but I highly commend them for reading by my colleagues. I would hope that all of them could read the articles in there by Stewart Udall, Wallace Stegner, Gladwin Hill, and John Leer, as well as regional reports from various areas of our country.

The second is an article that appears in the current issue of the U.S. News & World Report, and is an interview with General Cassidy, the Chief of the Army Engineers. I ask unanimous consent that the article in the U.S. News & World Report be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**WATER PROBLEM IN UNITED STATES—WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT: INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF OF THE ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS**

(NOTE.—Is the United States running out of water? Will water troubles keep getting worse? Isn't there anything the country can do to assure adequate supplies of water, ready at the tap and free of pollution? What about floods? Can water problems be solved by trapping flood waters and then releasing them later when shortages threaten? These and related questions are on the minds of millions as water problems—drought, floods, pollution—spread across the country. To get authoritative answers, U.S. News & World Report invited Lt. Gen. William F. Cassidy, Chief of Army Engineers, to its conference room for this interview with staff members.)

Question. General Cassidy, as population skyrockets on the east coast, on the west coast, and in other areas, is there to be a water problem of major proportions in this country?

Answer. I would say that there are major water problems right now. There are parts of the United States, most of them in the West, where the balance between water supply and demand is now and always has been precarious. And now in a part of the country where we have always thought of water as being abundant we are faced with a difficult problem.

Question. Do you mean in the East?

Answer. That's right.

Question. Is the problem in the East one of water supply or proper utilization, or both?

Answer. Both. The drought has lasted for 4 years. But, basically, there is sufficient water in the East—both surface water and ground water. But some of the sources have become heavily polluted and are no longer usable. There is pollution by industry, pollution by municipalities, and there is salt-water pollution.

All these things are going on in the East, where we see a metropolitan area taking shape that stretches all the way from Boston down to Norfolk. To meet the needs of this vast strip city in the future, we must spread

out and have a fully planned program of water development.

At the same time, we can't overlook problems that are developing all across the United States. Unless we get busy now, some parts of the country will face serious shortages by 1980, because by then our demand for water is going to double. And then demand will almost double again by the year 2000.

Question. What should be done to assure all parts of the United States enough water in the future?

Answer. Proper water management is the key. That means many things: pollution control and pollution abatement to protect the quality of water; transfer of water from one river basin to another; storage of heavy runoffs so that we prevent floods and, at the same time, save water for future use. Certainly the drought in the East illustrates the need for proper water management.

Question. Is the East going to face more severe shortages of water in the future than the West?

Answer. Not if water use and development is managed properly. There is more water in the East than there is in the West, so that, cared for properly—and this very definitely means conservation and pollution control—the East can go a long time before it becomes as short as the West.

Question. Where are the shortages most serious?

Answer. The areas of most serious shortage, taking them by basins, are these: the upper Rio Grande and the Pecos; the southern California area, although the California water plan will go a long way toward solving that problem; the upper Missouri area.

These are the areas that will suffer the earliest shortages, if we think of the way those areas would like to develop in the future. Their development may be limited by water shortages.

Question. When you listed the basins which face the worst shortages, you didn't mention the Delaware or the Hudson. Why not?

Answer. We were talking about severe water shortages. That area is not short on water. It requires development and proper management. As you get out in the West, it becomes a question of amount of water potentially available for development.

**WHAT THE EAST CAN DO—**

Question. Is the vast metropolitan area from Boston to Norfolk going to have to shift to some elaborate water plan such as the one in California?

Answer. I think they will have to come to combined systems of water management. Now we have individual systems of management. In northern New Jersey, for instance, there are many, many water companies. The problem there, if they're going to continue to supply the growing area, is for those people to get together and acquire and manage water, so that they can alleviate the shortages that might come in years of drought.

Basically, the problem is in the size of the water-collecting agencies. They don't have enough water within the area to run through a period of drought, so they'll have to reach out for more water and for more storage of water.

Question. Are there going to have to be more large dams and reservoirs in the East?

Answer. Yes, there will have to be more storage facilities and more development. There is a large amount of underground water in those States which can be tapped more heavily than it is at present. There must be a great effort in the Eastern States toward pollution control. This is one of their major problems. The water in many areas is now unusable without very heavy treatment.

Question. Take New York City. The Hudson flows by with plenty of water in it, yet the city has a water problem. Why?

Answer. Well, that has been mentioned quite often, but, if we go way back in history, we find that Henry Hudson was looking for fresh water as he sailed up the Hudson, but he found it was salt. The Hudson opposite New York City has a high salt content from the ocean. It isn't until you get pretty well up the Hudson that you begin to get water fresh enough for use. You see, that river is tidal all the way to Albany. But the Hudson will not become a good watersupply stream until pollution is abated.

Question. Where are new dams and reservoirs needed in the East?

Answer. Let's take the Delaware basin as one where we have a going project:

Now, the Delaware serves a four-State area, and for many years the States tried to get together to solve their water problems on the Delaware.

A study by the Corps of Engineers was authorized, and took quite a few years to carry out. In order to prepare the comprehensive plan it produced, we not only had to work with the States and get their full agreement on what would be done within the basin, but we had to work with all of the other Federal agencies concerned with water, so that we would come out with a truly comprehensive plan. The plan that has been worked out for the Delaware basin contemplates many headwater developments, and it contemplates, also, major storage dams down lower in the valley.

Question. By headwater development, do you mean dams on tributaries?

Answer. On tributaries, and on some quite small tributaries. These run into the hundreds, so that there will be the water storage in the upper areas and then major storage down in the lower basin. Tocks Island—near the Delaware Water Gap—is the largest one of these reservoirs. The proposed system of Federal reservoirs will provide a flow of a billion gallons a day from storage reservoirs during low-water periods. The total basin plan will provide almost double this supply.

Question. Would it meet the current emergency?

Answer. It would meet the current needs if the system were built.

Question. How much is this plan going to cost, over all?

Answer. The major Federal reservoirs called for by the plan will cost about a quarter of a billion dollars. To construct all of the reservoirs contemplated by the comprehensive plan will require expenditures exceeding a half billion. Additional large expenditures will be made for nonengineering activities.

Question. If the drought in the Northeast continues for another year or two, will that part of the country face a crisis of disaster proportions?

Answer. No, there is time to head off disaster. For the immediate future, if the drought continues, wells can be drilled to take care of northern New Jersey. Camden can probably take care of itself by drilling wells, too. Philadelphia could move its Delaware River intake upstream, or other measures—such as releases of upstream water—could be taken to hold the salt water wedge below the present intake at Torresdale.

Question. How about New York City?

Answer. New York City will have to conserve its water supply. I believe the city's best solution to another year of drought is to begin to correct its water system so as to conserve all the water possible. I think water meters would help, too.

For the long range in the Northeast, as far as the Federal Government is concerned, we are expediting the Delaware project as much as we can. Here we're talking on the order of 1969 and 1970.

Question. Does desalting of water offer an alternative, or a supplement, to the kind of projects that you've been describing?

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high school, in order to finance her tuition at Knox College in Galesburg, Ill. After graduation from Knox College, in 1859, Miss Scripps taught until 1866, when she joined her brother in Detroit to work for the Detroit Tribune. The next move was to Cleveland and then, finally, to California where she lived for the rest of her life. Thanks to Miss Scripps, the San Diego area is generously endowed with university and hospital facilities, libraries and community centers. All of this amply illustrates her attention to environment and education as crucial concerns of a community.

The people of Rushville, Ill., are indebted to Ellen Browning Scripps for a community building and a park. Such gifts are infinitely greater than the cost of construction. They represent an inexhaustible investment in the well-being of the town and of many generations of its people. I can think of no finer memorial to a noble and generous lady.

### TALKING SENSE ABOUT CUBA

*Cuba* Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, not too many days ago Cuban Premier Fidel Castro announced that he would permit a number of his countrymen to leave for the United States. It can be assumed that Castro apparently counted on using the people he betrayed as pawns in a propaganda game. However, on October 3, President Johnson announced the United States would offer sanctuary to the Cubans, in line with our traditional humanitarian policies. This entry must be handled on an orderly basis. I am sure that Castro, realizing the United States will require clear ground rules, is now hesitating.

Certainly a continuation of the Dunkirk-style evacuation cannot be allowed. Greater Miami, which has already demonstrated its compassion by absorbing many thousands of Cuban exiles, understandably does not know what to expect. South Floridians and the Nation should get some answers and the United States should spell out its requirements.

The Miami Herald has commented on the subject with cogency and restraint. I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled, "Clear Up the Refugee Muddle" be inserted in the body of the Record at this point of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### CLEAR UP THE REFUGEE MUDDLE

The promise of Fidel Castro to let his betrayed people go has given the United States an unparalleled opportunity.

Properly handled, the bearded dictator's abject failure will be demonstrated for all the world to see and communism will be given a setback in this hemisphere from which it can never rebound.

Bungled, it will give Castro a sharp propaganda weapon to tighten his control over a nation whose economy is rotting.

The misadventures of two groups of impatient exiles who tried to rescue friends and relatives show how easily the situation could be bungled.

One group engaged in a shoot-out with Cuban coastal guards. One exile was wounded, one guard reportedly killed. The incident gives Castro a made-to-order ex-

cuse to slam the door shut again whenever this suits his purpose.

Another group embarked in a stolen boat and while in Cuba was used for anti-American propaganda. The Havana radio quoted them as complaining about condition in the United States, which had given them refuge.

These things must not be allowed to continue.

Ten days after Fidel Castro announced all Cubans were free to leave the country, no U.S. official has yet spoken out firmly and clearly to lay down ground rules for an orderly movement.

South Florida's huge exile population doesn't know what to expect. Many, therefore, try to make the best deal they can to get their people out of Cuba. This is an invitation to disaster.

Greater Miami doesn't know what to expect—whether we face a chaotic future or whether the Federal agencies intend to keep their promise to relocate the incoming tide and reduce some of the exile burden we already have.

Some authority must spell this out and make clear also that U.S. laws and regulations must be observed by exiles and American citizens alike.

This is no time to appeal to Fidel Castro to act like a reasonable person. He knows now his offhand speech was an incredible mistake for his cause and could depopulate his country.

His interest is in trying to rectify his error.

The interest of the United States is to show that, given the opportunity, the people of Cuba choose freedom. This would be the end for Fidel.

He is on the hook and the United States has the initiative. If we allow the situation to drift until he can squirm off, the hopes of the Cuban people will be dashed and their eventual freedom postponed again.

Let the proper officials speak up now and the U.S. position be made unmistakable.

### THE EQUAL TIME ABSURDITY

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, an important question which I hope Congress can consider next year is whether to amend or eliminate section 315 of the Federal Communications Act. I am pleased that the National Conference on Broadcasting and Election Campaigns, held recently in Washington under the auspices of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc., dealt with this issue. As the author of S. 1287, a bill to amend section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, I am keenly interested in the matter of the equal time on the air for candidates for public office.

An excellent editorial identifying the shortcomings of section 315 as it is presently written appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer of October 8, 1965.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows.

#### THE EQUAL TIME ABSURDITY

Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act requires broadcasters to give candidates for public office equal time on the air. This means that a station which wants to give major candidates an hour of free time to present their views or engage in debate must give equal time in comparable time slots to all the other minority candidates.

In concept, this regulation appears democratic and noble enough in purpose. In practice, it can prove unfair and absurd, as

can be plainly witnessed today during the mayoralty campaign in New York.

There are two major party candidates for the office: JOHN V. LINDSAY, who holds both the Republican and Liberal nominations, and Abraham D. Beame, the Democratic nominee. Running also are five minority party candidates. The best known of these is the Conservatives' William F. Buckley, Jr. Others are the nominees of the United Taxpayers' Party, Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and even something called the Losers' Party.

Should the broadcasting stations in New York plan coverage of the two or three important candidates, outside of the regular newscasts exempt from the law, they would have to clutter up their schedules, and the air, with equal coverage of all the other candidates, no matter how obscure and how remote their chances of election.

Because of the expense involved, the scheduling difficulties, and public indifference to the views of most of the minority candidates, the stations have naturally gone slow in extra coverage of the top candidates.

The stations are frustrated, the campaign loses a sparkle it might otherwise be given, and the public loses out. The equal-time provision has become an added incentive to anonymous characters and political crackpots to run for office for the sake of personal publicity. They know that if one candidate receives free air time, they, too, must obtain it.

The practical answer lies in modification of the FCC provision so as to bar absurdities as well as discrimination. Pennsylvania's Senator HUGH SCOTT is sponsor of a bill which would make the equal time regulation apply only to parties which received 10 percent of the vote in the preceding election. This would seem to be a reasonable compromise, but the Scott bill lies in the bottom of the bin in a Senate committee. The debacle in New York provides a good reason for resurrecting it.

### ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, October 11, 1965, marked the 100th anniversary of the founding of the George Washington University Law School. Today, as the 15th oldest law school in the United States, it ranks sixth in enrollment.

To honor this institution and its distinguished alumni, many of whom have served and are currently serving in Congress, our Federal Courts and throughout the Government and Armed Forces, a special convocation was held on Tuesday, October 12, 1965, at which Associate Justice William Joseph Brennan, Jr., of the Supreme Court of the United States, received the honorary degree of doctor of laws, and delivered the address of the evening.

Being an alumnus of the George Washington University Law School, and a former member of the Law School faculty, I wish to make available to my colleagues in the Congress and to those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Justice Brennan's remarks on this occasion.

I ask that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:



hundreds of millions of dollars to carry out more than a dozen projects in this area.

But in the same densely populated urban complex, an interstate highway is planned. It is sorely needed to break a traffic stranglehold which is delaying economic and social progress throughout the region. It would be built with Interstate Highway funds, 90 percent supplied by the Federal Government. The highway would pass through or near a number of urban redevelopment areas. This causes local officials to insist that, in order to avoid construction of a Chinese wall through the communities, the freeway should be built below existing surface level.

This, the Federal Bureau of Public Roads refused to do. According to the Bureau, it would cost the highway trust fund an additional \$5 million. Arguing the local case for a depressed freeway, officials pointed to the obvious evidence of dilapidated residential and commercial areas alongside an elevated railroad structure which is located only a half-mile from the site of the proposed freeway. Here, they said was proof positive that an elevated structure can depress property values and help create new slums.

Only an ingenious financial solution arrived at by State highway officials in cooperation with city officials saved the day and permitted the freeway to be built at a lower level.

This is an absurd situation. The Federal Government, through HHFA, would be paying out of one pocket for urban redevelopment at 20 times the cost of depressing the highway through these urban renewal areas.

Clearly, these Federal programs are in conflict. Two Federal pocketbooks are involved, one, the loan and grant fund of the Urban Renewal Administration and the other the highway trust fund of the Bureau of Public Roads. Because the immediate decision involved highway design, the Bureau of Public Roads was the tail which wagged the urban dog.

Clearly, this situation will not be helped one iota by elevating HHFA to the same status as the Department of Commerce, in which the Bureau of Public Roads is housed. Rather, a referee is needed in this dispute between urban redevelopment priorities and highway location and design. A White House office manned by persons with extensive experience in State and local problems would seem to be a more appropriate umpire.

There are other problems, too, in the urban scheme of things, with regard to the relative place of highways and rapid transit plans.

Some months back, the White House released a technical report prepared by a group of experts which suggested, in part, that more express buses, operating in reserved traffic lanes, might be mass transit's answer to the growing problem of traffic jams that tend to strangle our metropolitan areas. Conceivably, the Mass Transportation Act now on the books, will yield not nearly as much an increase in rail passenger facilities as it will a significant increase in express buses on our highways.

There is clearly no objection to locating mass transit programs under the Housing and Home Finance Agency. But a significant increase in the number of buses on the streets would quite obviously affect what another agency of Government is trying to do to combat air pollution. And this is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Today, these activities of the Federal Government are administratively unrelated. Nor would they be related under the proposal submitted by the President and approved by Congress to create a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

Beyond this, duplication and waste would inevitably follow if mass transit plans are centered in the new Department while an-

other Federal agency, the Department of Commerce, continues to guide, finance, and control the construction of urban and suburban roads.

We cannot divide responsibility and expect sound decisions for the most efficient use of the taxpayers' dollars in meeting overall community needs.

Nor will the new Federal Department help you in your efforts to wage a war on poverty. For the new Department created in part to establish a more direct line between Washington and the cities will do absolutely nothing, per se, to make you partners in the administration of local antipoverty programs.

Beyond that, how many of you have seriously considered how you are going to find your increased share of funds—a 40-percent increase—required by law if the poverty program is to continue beyond August 20, 1966?

The program calls for Federal assistance for the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs up to 90 percent of costs for the 2-year period ending August 20, 1966, or 50 percent thereafter.

Local governing bodies, to say nothing of city managers, are generally bypassed by the direct contact between poverty officials in Washington and local action groups, but where will the pressures go for continuation of the program with 40 percent less Federal participation?

Why, the pressures are just as liable to end on the desk of the city managers—and you know it. You are going to be hounded by a public acclimated to the program. But you will be asked to find the money for a program in which you have participated not at all.

Now, the purpose of my comments has not been to detract one iota from the important role the Federal Government can, and must, play in solving metropolitan problems; rather, I hope that I have left with you today a healthy skepticism regarding the Federal Government's ability to offer instant solutions to perennial metropolitan problems.

The same administrative hurdles that have impeded solution of these problems by State and local officials are merely multiplied by the current trend of Federal intervention.

Instead of a proliferation of agencies at the Federal, State, and local levels with overlapping jurisdictions and built-in self-interests, can't we begin to talk about inter-jurisdictional planning agencies that will benefit from the knowledge, finances, and energies of all three levels of government as they seek common solutions to problems that are indeed the common property of us all regardless of where we live.

If an Office of Community Development in the White House could be designed to accomplish this goal, I feel we would be taking a real step in the proper direction.

#### WEARY OF ALL DEMONSTRATIONS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, for those of us who support the administration's policy in South Vietnam, it is heartening to know that not all the opponents of that policy believe in public demonstrations or pro-Communist protests.

The Wheeling, W. Va., News-Register recently has voiced opposition to the administration's policy on South Vietnam but an editorial which appeared in the Sunday, October 17, 1965, edition voices stronger criticism to protest demonstrations.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed, as follows:

#### WEARY OF ALL DEMONSTRATIONS

Regardless of one's personal views on U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war, there can be no condoning the type of protest demonstrations being staged around the country.

To tell the truth we are sick and tired of all demonstrations, marches, riots, and disorders and we believe the majority of Americans are weary of the same. By now it should be clear that even the most sincere and honest of these protests sooner or later become the vehicles for infiltration by pro-Communist agitators, wild-eyed beatniks, and ordinary law breakers.

On Friday the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released a study to support what it termed the Communist infiltration and exploitation of the teach-in movement on U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The report read, "A substantial Communist infiltration (of the teach-in movement) is demonstrable, a much more substantial infiltration is probable, and there has been a tragic blurring of the distinction between the position of those who oppose our involvement in Vietnam on pacifist or idealist or strategic or other grounds, and those who oppose our involvement in the war because they are Communists or pro-Communists."

Simply because a movement of this nature is sponsored by an institution of higher learning does not mean that it is free of Communist taint or exploitation by extremists and even hoodlums. Many a worthwhile cause has been terribly damaged because of such infiltration and Americans are becoming increasingly disgusted with such mob tactics.

There is nothing wrong with speaking out in disagreement with Government policies, but there is no need to resort to mass rallies in the streets, sit-in demonstrations and disorderly conduct which disturbs the peace and welfare of the country.

Already we have spawned such shocking episodes as seeing young Americans tearing up their draft cards and rebelling against military service. Unfortunately, the protest movements set an example for our younger people and in a way many of these efforts directly involve the youth.

What must be remembered is that half of today's world population is under 18 years of age. By next year half of the U.S. population will be under 25. Youth therefore is a potentially explosive force, which unless channeled into productive paths, can lead in the future to upheaval and rioting for the mere thrill of rioting. If there is no way left in our Nation to register a dissenting opinion, other than through civil disobedience and mob tactics, then we are in a sad way indeed.

#### ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ELLEN BROWNING SCRIPPS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I should like my colleagues to note that today is the anniversary of the birth of Ellen Browning Scripps, one of the most intelligent and selfless ladies our country has known. I want to take this occasion to express the pride and gratitude with which the people of Illinois remember Miss Scripps, for her belief in the power and glory of education, a belief which she supported by inestimable philanthropies.

Ellen Browning Scripps was born in London on October 18, 1836. Her family moved to the United States while she was still a child, and she spent her girlhood in Rushville, Ill. She attended public schools in Rushville, and taught school herself after graduation from



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tically and wait for the poor to help themselves. Industrialization, which needs foreign aid, creates a new demand for farm products and helps the farmer progress from peasant to entrepreneur. Any schemes for agricultural improvement will create an additional need for foreign exchange, and will be strangled at birth unless aid is forthcoming. But the aid-givers could give a greater part of their help in ways that stimulate agricultural reform without appearing to be an undue interference in the recipient's internal affairs. The FAO in its latest report suggests that more aid should be given for general schemes of agricultural development, rather than for big projects like irrigation dams.

UNTAID (the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) may also help agricultural reform if it can generate a new breed of international commodity agreements that force primary producers to control production of surplus commodities. Were there a genuine prospect of output limitation by the producers, importing countries might more easily agree to finance the support of the international market. The international coffee agreement has begun to move hopefully in this direction with the aid of the World Bank, although the political difficulties of controlling coffee production in a country like Brazil are enormous.

Also in the air are the schemes, mostly of French or European Common Market origin, for using planned surpluses of foodstuffs grown in the rich countries in a purposeful way to aid development in the poor. The FAO commented that, though the idea is controversial, a choice does not exist between avoiding, or deliberately planning for a surplus, but only between whether a surplus willy-nilly is planned or unplanned. "From that point of view, planned food aid may be preferable." This at least may be some consolation for the hungry, but one must remember they cannot eat words. Only the rich can.

CUBA

## Castro's Latest

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the magnanimous offer by President Johnson to admit refugees from Castro's regime is in keeping with the spirit of American concern for oppressed people everywhere. This action is a concrete example of our Nation at its best, offering itself as a haven for those persons who desire true freedom and relief from tyranny.

I think that the following editorial from the Newark (N.J.) Evening News is a fair representation of the praise and support elicited from many private citizens and newspapers throughout the country. I respectfully submit it for the RECORD:

## CASTRO'S LATEST

President Johnson acted in the interest of humanitarianism in offering refuge to Cubans wanting to come to this country. He could have done no less.

The motive behind Fidel Castro's sudden decision to open the gates remains unclear. Whatever it may be, he cannot escape the obvious admission of failure which the de-

parture of those voluntarily leaving the land of their birth would represent.

Efforts will be made in Washington to pace the flow by limiting the number of refugees to 5,000 a month. If this influx were to continue, Cubans could account for half of the 120,000 immigrants from the Western Hemisphere who would be permitted to enter the United States under the newly enacted legislation.

Even though this could impose a barrier to prospective citizens from friendly hemispheric nations, the desire to maintain the United States as a haven for the oppressed should be transcendent. Safeguards must be employed, however, to prevent Castro from undertaking a wholesale eviction of unemployables and others burdening the Cuban economy.

The International Red Cross would be the ideal intermediary to assure that humanitarian considerations prevail. Castro's refusal to deal with the Red Cross or some equally disinterested third party would be a sure sign of bad faith and a signal to call the whole thing off.

## A Trip Behind the Iron Curtain

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I always seek out new information from those who travel behind the Iron Curtain, in those countries in the Commonwealth of Russia and those nations within the scope of the Subcommittee on Europe.

The article which I insert in the RECORD today is by William J. Farrell, a college classmate of my late husband at Columbia College, New York. Mr. Farrell was a stockbroker in New York City until the stock market crashed in 1928, whereupon he left for the west coast and became associated with banking interests in California. During these years he served his country in both major encounters, World War I and World War II. Now retired, Bill Farrell is devoting his time and energies to travel and writing.

His most recent trip was made to the Balkan countries. Although an upcoming article on this recent trip is not yet completed, I have gathered various pieces of information concerning freedom of religion in these Iron Curtain countries, from correspondence with him.

The principal, personal contacts he made were with guides and a few hotel clerks, most of whom were young boys and girls—university students on summer vacations. They were obviously well schooled in what they were to answer to questions about religion. They claimed freedom of religion existed but stated that religion was practiced mostly by older people. He was told that young people were not interested in religion because they were much too occupied with other activities and had no need for it.

He then asked a few of these young people if church attendance would hinder their advancement in the party. Most denied this vigorously. However, he reached a very few who replied guardedly that the practice of any religion would not be of any help to them in advancing their positions.

Upon visiting two services on a Sunday in the heart of Bucharest, he found 16 people attending a Roman Catholic Mass in St. Joseph's Cathedral at noon and nearby, 20 people attending an Orthodox service.

Obviously and regrettably, freedom of religion is a freedom not easily enjoyed but rather guardedly practiced, if practiced at all.

Now, in order to share with my colleagues, the wealth of observations contained in William Farrell's excellent account of his 1964 trip, I present his article, "A Trip Behind the Iron Curtain":

## A TRIP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

(By William Farrell, retired staff member)

JUNE 30, 1964.—The magic date had finally arrived. This meant retirement and enough time to make a trip I had been working over in my mind for almost 2 years.

The nucleus of my plan was to join a group in Moscow which would continue an additional 3,000 miles into central Asia. We would visit such legendary cities as Alma Ata, Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarkand, and Dushanbe (called Stalinabad before Stalin's fall from favor). Literally dozens of interesting sights are to be seen in these cities, all of which bear the impressive marks of their antiquity.

Earlier stops on my itinerary—the World's Fair, a tour of southern Ireland (after a flight from New York to Dublin), and another tour of the Shakespeare country in England—were incidental. So were the stops on the return from central Asia at Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Paris, and up and down the Rhine. My focal point was the Russian trip.

Central Asia is truly a storied land. Its beginnings predate written history. Alexander the Great captured Samarkand in the 4th century B.C., to be followed around the 13th century by Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.

Each city I intended to visit was an important link in the ancient "silk road" extending from China to southeastern Europe. The whole area, at present made up of some half-dozen Soviet republics, lies about 2,500 to 3,000 miles southeast of Moscow, east of the Caspian Sea (south of Siberia), and directly north of Afghanistan. When we were at Alma Ata, during a trip through the mountains, we were assured that we were only 35 miles from the border of Red China—Sinkiang Province, to be exact. The great barriers of the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Pamirs lie to the south. Until the advent of the jet, travelers had described this as one of the most inaccessible spots on earth.

Prior inquiries, about the area, brought suggestions that September would be the most pleasant month as far as weather conditions were concerned and this proved to be the case. I found that midsummer temperature in Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand sometimes reach a high of 120° F.

September 1 found me, on schedule, at London Central Airport as the PA system droned out the familiar, "Your attention please—Aeroflot flight No. 032 nonstop to Moscow, now loading at gate No. 4—all aboard please." I hope I never lose the thrill I get when the flight being called is my flight—and this was something special.

Aeroflot is the airline that operates all nonmilitary flights for Russia, both domestic and foreign. My plane was a TU-104, called a Tupolev. It flies at 500 to 550 m.p.h. and is approximately the Russian version of our 707 or DC-8, seating 70 to 100 persons. Close examination of the interior revealed that our planes are more luxuriously furnished, but the noise from the jets did not seem remarkably greater—at least as I recall it.

Three hours and forty-five minutes later we landed at Moscow airport. There I joined tour No. 50, made up of 23 other people who would be my traveling companions for the next 17 days. Ours was an English-speaking tour. England, Scotland, Canada, United States, and Italy (a young couple) were represented. A young Russian girl, about 25 years old, named Nina introduced herself as our Intourist guide. She would remain with us to handle all details of our trip until we returned to Moscow on September 17. Intourist, by the way, is a government bureau which supervises all travel and hotel accommodations within Russia. At each city visited, we were to be joined by a local guide to explain sights of interest.

Immigration officials scrutinized our passports and special visas very carefully; however, the customs section didn't even ask us to unlock our luggage. They did require us to list carefully all foreign currencies and any gold or silver jewelry. We found that shutterbugs could have themselves a "ball." Pictur-taking was completely unrestricted, except at airports, railway stations, and military installations.

As we drove toward Moscow from the airport, we noticed the great number of four-, six-, and eight-story apartment buildings. This is a partial answer to one of their most pressing problems—housing. This same situation prevailed in all the central Asian cities visited—new apartments and business buildings—everywhere new construction. The long booms and control cabs of the construction cranes were silhouetted against the sky, much as palm trees dot the Los Angeles skyline.

The main streets of Moscow are notably wide, in most cases accommodating 12 traffic lanes, with a broad center dividing strip which was usually planted with flowers. We also noticed that these streets were kept spotlessly clean. Apparently there are no litterbugs in Moscow. As yet, ordinary traffic is not heavy enough to tax these facilities, but passenger buses by the hundreds ply the streets in all directions.

Our hotel was the Ukraine, built 6 or 7 years ago. With two 12-story wings and a central tower of 27 stories, it contains 1,100 rooms and covers an entire city block. The Russians refer facetiously to its style of architecture as "post-Stalin." The lobby of the Ukraine (and this may be said generally of all the hotels where we stayed) was huge, plain, dull, and poorly lighted.

In the guest rooms, the plumbing was strictly antique. I still wonder where they managed to dig up such a collection of curiosities. In some hotels the wash basin would be in one room or small compartment, the shower or tub in another, and the toilet in a third. I always enjoy a good game of hide and seek, but not when I'm looking for the bathroom. However, I admit that all our rooms were clean and comfortable, if you forget the plumbing. To sum up on hotels, they would be about fourth class in this country. If you are the finicky type, you'd better stay home. Room service, for instance, doesn't exist.

In each hotel, we were assigned the same tables for the duration of our stay, and the same waitresses served us throughout. The tables were always set with baskets of assort-

ed fruit and four or five large bottles of mineral water, orangeade, or fruit juices. Tap water was not potable. There were no menus and no tips. Breakfast was a variation of cereals, eggs, ham, bacon, toast—the usual. However, one morning I didn't recognize the first offering on my plate; it was a smoked sturgeon. I ate it and liked it, although it was a radical departure from my ordinary breakfast routine. The following morning it started with a plate-filling slab of cheese surmounted by four generous slices of salami. Chalk up another radical departure.

In Moscow we were served generous portions of caviar at dinner three nights. Each meal also brought a large plate of sliced white bread and black bread. After one sample everyone ate the black bread. It was delicious. It was not quite as heavy as pumpernickel and always ovenfresh. Although lunch was usually built around a hearty, space-filling soup, the dinner menu was varied. It might be beef, veal, lamb, or other meats prepared in conventional ways, or perhaps a shashlik at which the central Asians excel. Boned roast chicken was also a frequent favorite. In addition to these standbys, various vegetables were served along with potatoes or rice. Desserts were much the same as ours, but ice cream always was our favorite. It was excellent. These backward people haven't yet discovered that ice cream can be made without cream.

Five days of sightseeing in Moscow pretty well covered the conventional sights. We saw the Kremlin—twice from the inside—and the metro (subway) with its marble platforms, arches, decorative statues, murals done in mosaics, and paintings. We also saw many museums, cathedrals, the university, and the Exposition of Soviet Economic Achievement—a collection of beautiful buildings, somewhat reminiscent of the New York World's Fair. Each industry and republic has its own building for exhibiting its products.

On September 6 we left Moscow for Alma Ata, arriving there 5 hours and 20 minutes later. When Russia took over the central Asian cities, they followed a general policy of preserving the native quarter of the city, which is composed mostly of mud huts. They built their own new buildings a short distance away. So, it is still possible to observe life, in these ancient quarters, very much as it has existed for many thousands of years. Some of the mud huts are gradually being replaced by modern construction, but a large portion will always be preserved for tourist appeal.

Alma Ata and Dushanbe do not contain any distinguished landmarks. Tashkent is a city of over a million population, located in the center of a large cotton-producing area. One of the largest cotton mills in the world is located here. A small percentage of the people still wear attractive and colorful native costumes.

We were getting toward the end of our journey with visits to Bukhara and Samarkand, the ancient Marcanda. Bukhara is known best for the rugs bearing that name.

Actually, the rugs are made elsewhere, but the principal market is Bukhara. Until 1920, the Emir ruled with a cruel and an absolute hand. Sometimes criminals were thrown into the bug pits to be slowly devoured. Prominent on the skyline is the tall and beautifully proportioned Kalyan Minaret. Condemned men were taken to the top of this tower, known as the Tower of Death, and pushed off, falling to their deaths on the stone flags 130 feet below. Here we also saw the Timor Tower, Job's Well, and many other impressive structures. Our last stop in Bukhara was a mosque where we were permitted to enter during a religious service. The worshippers

prostrated themselves on their prayer rugs, which they had spread in the open air in the tree-covered courtyard on the mosque. Here again the feeling of remoteness from the world and the vast distances from "regular" civilization possessed us. When you get so deep in the far places that the Mohammedans turn southwest to face Mecca, you know you're more than 45 minutes from Broadway.

Samarkand offers a wealth of interesting places. Among them is the Observatory of Ulug-Beg, the astronomer. His records, compared with present-day findings, show an amazing accuracy. The Gur Emir, or Tomb of Tamerlane, is located here. Tamerlane's sarcophagus is made of a mineral called nephrite and is said to be the largest single piece of this material ever known. For his epitaph, he chose to have inscribed, "Were I alive today, mankind would tremble." The Shah I Zind is a long stairway, flanked on both sides by a succession of the beautiful tombs of Tamerlane's family. These are probably the best preserved of the various groups.

Registan Square is formed by a collection of mosques and madrasahs or schools. Its impressive blue and blue-green tile domes had fallen in to disrepair, but one, which had been expertly restored recently, offers the hope that the entire group may soon receive like treatment. Lord Curzon, visiting in 1888, spoke of it as "the noblest public square in the world," superior even to St. Mark's Square in Venice.

Dushanbe was the last stop on our tour. The hotel dining room was "undergoing repairs," so we ate at a large restaurant opposite the hotel and across the main public square. It must be the largest public square in all Asia. On our last night in Dushanbe, Intourist gave up a farewell dinner, featuring much caviar and champagne. The next day a 6-hour, nonstop trip in an IL-18 returned us to Moscow and the National Hotel—reputedly the best in Moscow. At least the National and Metro-pole, products of the turn of the century, are highly recommended by old Moscow hands. I think they are right.

The next morning, September 17, the group broke up and each member enplaned for his separate destination. Two of us left Moscow early on our SAS flight to Copenhagen.

On our departure, as on our arrival, customs showed no curiosity about our luggage. However, the same immigration official, who had scrutinized our travel documents so closely on arrival, was again on duty at the clearance desk to repeat the process in great detail. When our passports were returned, we noted that the special visa, which had been carefully stapled to that document, had been as carefully removed.

We walked downstairs to the loading level and were about to start up the plane's gangway when a voice at my elbow asked for my passport. It was our old friend again, but this time he was accompanied by a pretty blond girl, who joined in the inspection. They went through the whole ceremony again, just as seriously and carefully as he had done it not much over a minute before. He finally returned the passport and indicated that I was free to board. Obviously, no one is going to switch passports in the brief interval between the desk and the plane, and get off scot free from behind the Iron Curtain—not, at least, while "Ivan Horatius" is guarding the bridge.

Arriving at Copenhagen Airport, we carefully sought out a customs or immigration officer. There was none to be found. We made inquiries. Still no officials. There was nothing to do but call a cab and go to the hotel. Needless to say, I felt neglected.

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where sugar has never been grown. Their lobbyist succeeded in securing a 10,000-ton special quota for Owen-Ilinois.

Arguments that American consumers would be without sugar if the bill failed to pass were also without foundation in fact. Under existing legislation the current quotas would continue to apply if the House had voted down the proposal. With the defeat of H.R. 11135, we could then have come up with a bill which would have permitted domestic sugar producers to expand their output with no ties to foreign quotas.

## A Significant Vote in the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OFHON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI  
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is necessary for us to consistently remind the State Department that the greatest abuses of colonialism today are found in the Communist colonial practices of the Soviet Union and Red China. I regret that Ambassador Goldberg did not use the opportunity during the recent U.N. debate on Rhodesia to emphasize that the only major colonial powers were the two Communist dictatorships, the U.S.S.R. and Red China. However, columnist David Lawrence, writing in yesterday's Evening Star, directs our attention to this question, and I insert his column in the RECORD at this point as part of my remarks:

## A SIGNIFICANT VOTE IN THE U.N.

(By David Lawrence)

An event of tremendous significance has just occurred in the United Nations. By a vote of 107 to 2, the General Assembly has called on Britain to refuse to accept a declaration of independence by Rhodesia, because the latter's present government will not grant a majority of the inhabitants self-rule but will continue to give a white minority the preponderant power.

While there is a widespread feeling that the black man in Africa should have his rights, the incident raises the question of why the same principle shouldn't be applied to the people of other countries where a white majority have been and still are being denied the right to rule themselves.

Thus, for example, the populations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are overwhelmingly white, but their independence is impaired by an outside power which holds them in subjugation under "Communist colonialism."

The fact that the General Assembly of the United Nations now is insisting on self-government for different nations throughout the world which have been ruled by outside powers is an encouraging sign. The captive nations in Eastern Europe, however, have never had the benefit of a United Nations resolution declaring that they should enjoy independence and be allowed to develop autonomously without interference from other governments. Certainly the United Nations has never advocated the use of "all possible force" to deal with this problem, as it has just recommended with respect to Rhodesia.

In the case of the satellite countries in

Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union supposedly gave independence to this bloc of nations but nevertheless has managed to retain control through the apparatus of the Communist Party and often with military forces. The Russians try to spread the impression every now and then that these Eastern European countries are independent and can make trade arrangements with other parts of the world. But the fact remains that they do not really have self-government.

So any pronouncement by the United Nations today with respect to the right of self-government for the people of Rhodesia, the majority of whom happen to be black, could be taken to mean that the world's biggest international organization may soon express itself in favor of the principle of self-government for white people who have come under the yoke of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe.

It is significant that the United States voted for the resolution to hold up the grant of independence to Rhodesia by Britain, and in a friendly understanding with the British Foreign Office has undertaken to work in harmony with the authorities there. Pressure is to be brought to bear on the Rhodesian whites to prevent them from becoming independent under a government which, it is argued, wouldn't reflect the will of the majority of the people. There are nearly 4 million tribesmen, mostly uneducated, and 250,000 whites possessing skills of various kinds.

The State Department here has indicated it will participate in economic sanctions whereby trade would be cut off and aid of various kinds would be interrupted if the Rhodesian leaders insist upon separating themselves from the British and going it alone.

But, it will be asked, just why shouldn't Britain and other countries be willing to apply the same formula to Red China? For the Peiping regime has undertaken to prevent a majority of the people in South Vietnam from maintaining their independence?

The United Nations has, in effect, approved all measures of economic or military force that may be necessary to insure the independence of Rhodesia under a government chosen by a majority of its people. This gives hope that in the future perhaps the same concern will be felt and similar measures adopted to insure the right of the majority of the people of Vietnam to govern themselves without interference by a minority aided by Red China or the Soviet Union or any other country. Some day, too, perhaps the peoples of Eastern Europe will be helped by the United Nations to regain the independence they once enjoyed.

Reporter Everett Allen Cited for Coverage  
of Cuban Freedom MovementEXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the mounting exodus from Castro's Cuba is a dramatic reminder that Cuban men and women are willing to risk their lives and give up lifelong homes for exile and uncertainty to find freedom.

It should remind us too that their sons, brothers, and husbands have suffered imprisonment and death in the fight to free their island home of Communist tyranny. The fight continues.

Sunday night, in New York City, two major free Cuban organizations in this country reaffirmed their determination to see Cuba returned to the family of free nations. In so doing, they paid special tribute to several American journalists for their help in exposing Castroism and bringing the story of the free-Cuba movement to the American people.

I am proud to note that special tribute was paid a resident of my congressional district, Everett S. Allen, a staff writer for the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., who has written penetrating articles on the Cuban situation since 1959.

Everett Allen and the newspaper for which he has written many prize-winning articles, the Standard-Times, very early saw the menace of Castroism. Allen characterized Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz as a "pistol-toting drunkard," and termed him a "power-hungry despot." The Standard-Times was one of the first, if not the first major American newspaper to explode the Castro myth and expose him as a dangerous pro-Communist despot. In 1959, when the American Society of Newspaper Editors invited Castro to be their principal speaker at an annual meeting, the editor of the Standard-Times urged that the invitation be withdrawn. When it was not, he refused to attend the meeting and continued to warn his readers of the true character of Castro—this at a time when most other newspapers were writing of Fidel as a colorful liberator of the Cuban people.

In 1962, Mr. Allen wrote a major four-part series on Castro, a series 4 months in the preparation and one which was based in large part on exclusive interviews and correspondence.

Accepting his award in New York last Sunday, and a similar tribute in behalf of former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Arthur Gardner, Mr. Allen told the Cuban patriots they must have patience in addition to their courage—"patience deriving from the knowledge that we in North America who believe Cuban liberty is of the greatest fundamental importance to all mankind will stand with you for as long as history requires."

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the account of this award ceremony, as a reminder to all of us that the passage of time has done nothing to diminish the cause of a free Cuba, or to lessen the danger to the Western Hemisphere from this Communist camp in the Caribbean:

STANDARD-TIMES WRITER HONORED—CUBA  
EXILES VOW TO CONTINUE FIGHT

NEW YORK, October 11.—Several hundred anti-Castro Cuban exiles, representatives of two major free-Cuba organizations in the United States, reaffirmed their determination to "continue the fight until our beloved country is free again" at a 3-hour public rally here yesterday.

A highlight of the event, coinciding with the start of National Newspaper Week, was the awarding to nine American daily newspapers, four Spanish-language publications, and three U.S. magazines of "diplomas of honor" for coverage "in defense of the brave and valiant men and women who struggle to free Cuba from the tyranny of Communism and to reincorporate our republic in the family of free nations of the American Continent."

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In addition to Everett S. Allen, staff writer of the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times, who was cited, other publications represented by the awards included the New York Daily News, New York Herald Tribune, New York World Telegram-Sun, Miami Herald, Newsday, the Miami Daily News, Washington Star, Reader's Digest, Time, and Life.

Other individuals accepting the awards included Marguerite Higgins, whose column appears on the Standard-Times editorial page, and Ben I. Meyer, Washington bureau chief of the Associated Press.

In accepting his award, Mr. Allen, also representing former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba, Arthur Gardner of Washington, who was unable to attend, assured the audience, "You have the courage; you must have the patience required, patience deriving from the knowledge that we in North America who believe Cuban liberty is of the greatest fundamental importance to all mankind will stand with you for as long as history requires."

The sponsoring organizations, Free Cuba Patriotic Movement and the Christian Democrat Movement of Cuba, concluded the affair by calling on the United States to charter a vessel to be named "Freedom Ship, to bring over from the Red Inferno that is Cuba today, those seeking freedom, to be reunited (in the United States) with their families."

### Senate-House Conference on the Public Works Appropriation Bill Fails To Include \$300,000 for Fremont Dam of the Lower Teton Project

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Idaho has fared well in the public works appropriation bill for 1966 as agreed to in conference between the House and Senate, and which passed the House today. Included was \$11,844,000 for five important projects in my State, four of which are in the Second Congressional District. These projects, and the amounts appropriated for them, are: Dworshak-Bruces Eddy-Reservoir, \$11 million; Portneuf River and Marsh Creek, \$400,000; Ririe Reservoir, \$300,000; Heise-Roberts extension, \$100,000; and Blackfoot Reservoir, \$44,000. Funds for the Ririe and Blackfoot Reservoirs are for planning, while the rest are for construction.

However, Mr. Speaker, I must say I was naturally disappointed that the Senate-House conference on the public works appropriation bill, in its wisdom, did not include the \$300,000 provided in the Senate version of the bill for the Fremont Dam of the lower Teton project. It is a good project, and one I believe to be of vital necessity to the residents of the area.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure Members of the House are aware of the great rampart of mountains—sometimes called the American Alps—which lie south of Yellowstone National Park, and along the Idaho-Wyoming border. These towering peaks of glacier-filled crevices, and of breathtaking beauty, are called the Tetons and

form a major part of Teton National Park.

It was in the shadow of the rising sun under this majestic vertebrae of Mother Earth that I was born and reared.

Flowing out of these high places are crystal clear but swift and turbulent streams. Coursing through deep canyons the waters from the fast-melting snow in the spring emerge and flow out upon the broad, flat valleys below, inundating everything in their path. Later in the year, as the heat of summer reaches its peak, the snowpack recedes to a point where little melting occurs, and the streams slow to a trickle. Thirsty crops are too frequently left to wither in a land of little rain. These conditions have worsened as times have changed and as the area has become more highly developed.

Lands that can provide abundant yield year after year remain irregular and unpredictable and economic conditions have worsened for some 30 years.

The proposed Teton Dam is primarily and initially designed to provide supplementary water and to control spring flooding.

In House Report No. 1715, 88th Congress, 2d session, accompanying H.R. 2337, a bill to authorize this dam we find:

This is a multipurpose development designed to make maximum use of the available water resources in the area. The construction and operation of this proposed project would provide irrigation service to 161,400 acres of irrigable land. About 114,400 acres are in a highly successful irrigated agricultural area and would receive a supplemental water supply. The other 37,000 acres which are presently dryland farmed would receive a full water supply. The project would also provide substantial flood protection to a highly developed area in the Upper Snake River Basin, which has suffered severe damage from floods in recent years; make available about 75 million kilowatt-hours of electric energy annually for project pumping and for disposal through the Federal Columbia River power system; and, in addition, would provide new recreational opportunities in the area.

For the past 30 years, water users as well as businessmen in the Fremont-Madison Irrigation District, an area which is subject to both drought and floods, have been urging the construction of a dam and reservoir on the Teton River. At the present time, there are only two small reservoirs for water storage in the area, and the water which is impounded is subject to prior downstream rights. The canals which serve the Fremont-Madison Irrigation District lose their natural flow early in the irrigation season resulting in late season water shortages. A supplemental water supply for the existing irrigated land in the district is the greatest need in the area. This area is completely dependent upon agriculture, and the frequent crop losses due to drought conditions have a serious adverse impact which is felt not only by the local economy but throughout the entire State.

The new land which would be brought into irrigated production would be a great asset to this area, strengthening and firming up the economy and providing for diversified crops on lands presently devoted to dryland grains.

This same area, for which firm water supply is so badly needed, is also subject to serious flooding. Floods and drought conditions in the same year are not uncommon. The spring floods in many years cause inundation of farmlands, homes, and areas of

improvements, as well as threaten the life and health of humans and livestock. Substantial economic losses have occurred. The seriousness of an alternate drought and flood cycle was vividly illustrated in 1961 and 1962. During the summer of 1961, Fremont and Madison Counties were declared a drought emergency area. In February 1962 extremely high runoff caused record floods in Henry's Fork and Teton River valleys and the Snake River plain. Thus, within 6 months, the same area was declared a drought area and a flood disaster area. Destructive floods occurred in the area just a few weeks before the committee held hearings on this legislation in June. The committee was impressed with the extent of damage indicated by photographs furnished during the hearings. A large percentage of the floodflows that have been so damaging are contributed by the Teton River, and storage space in the proposed Fremont Reservoir would provide substantial protection against future floods.

Electric energy that would be made available would be an additional valuable asset that is needed to meet the ever-expanding power requirements.

At the present time, recreation facilities in the area are taxed to the limit. The recreational opportunities that would be made available by construction of this project in the form of boating, camping, fishing, etc., would help meet the increased demand.

Mr. Speaker, support of this project has been completely bipartisan. The first bill on it was introduced by the late Senator Henry Dworshak in the 87th Congress. It was later reintroduced and cosponsored by Senators FRANK CHURCH and LEN B. JORDAN in the 88th Congress on the Senate side, and by my predecessor, Representative Ralph Harding, on the House side. It currently has the wholehearted support of the entire Idaho congressional delegation.

Twice the Idaho State Legislature has memorialized the Congress in its support. Following is the text of Senate Joint Memorial No. 5, Idaho State Legislature, 38th session, in such support:

#### SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL NO. 5

Joint memorial to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, and the Honorable President of the United States

We, your memorialists, the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, assembled in the 38th session thereof, do respectfully represent that:

Whereas the 88th Congress of the United States of America, by an act approved September 7, 1964, entitled Teton Basin Reclamation Project, Idaho, and known as Public Law 88-583, 78 Stat. 925, authorized to be appropriated for the construction of the Fremont Dam and other facilities of the lower division of the Teton Basin Federal reclamation project the sum of \$52 million plus or minus justifiable amounts for ordinary fluctuations in construction costs and for operation and maintenance costs; and

Whereas said project received the overwhelming support of Congress and all persons in the affected areas, of both political faiths, as being necessary and within the public interest to arrest the flooding waters of the Teton River and its tributaries by the construction of a dam and reservoir to use the impounded water, most of which in high runoff periods in the past has gone rushing down through the lower valleys eroding valuable farmlands and damaging and destroying homes and other properties; for the irrigation of arid and semiarid lands, the development of river power opportunities, the providing for recreation facilities, and the

selves generously to the National Red Cross.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

As I stated earlier, we are not getting a precedent by a governmental contribution to the International Committee of the Red Cross, because some 59 governments do now contribute. Admittedly, this is the first time the United States would make a voluntary contribution as a Government to that society.

The National Red Cross societies themselves do make individual contributions from their own societies. So far as I know, that would likewise continue.

With respect to the necessity, this is, of course, a matter of opinion. I respect those who have different opinions.

As pointed out in the hearings on pages 8 and 9 and as pointed out in the report, the request for funds to help with budgetary problems did come from the international committee in 1963 and was followed up by specific requests to all governments to increase contributions, including the U.S. Government. This is the reason why this was initiated by our own Department of State.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. YATES). The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Florida that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 8715.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

*W.H. FASCELL*  
AMENDING TITLE V—RELATING TO  
CLAIMS AGAINST CUBA

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 9336) to amend title V of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 relating to certain claims against the Government of Cuba.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 9336

*Be it enacted by the House and Senate of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 501 of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 (22 U.S.C. 1643) is amended by striking out "which have arisen out of debts for merchandise furnished or services rendered by nationals of the United States without regard to the date on which such merchandise was furnished or services were rendered or".*

Sec. 2. Section 503(a) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643b(a)) is amended by striking out "arising out of debts for merchandise furnished or services rendered by nationals of the United States without regard to the date on which such merchandise was furnished or services were rendered or".

Sec. 3. Section 506 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643e) is amended by striking out "Provided, That the deduction of such amounts shall not be construed as divesting the United States of any rights against the Government of Cuba for the amounts so deducted".

Sec. 4. Section 507(a) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643f) is amended by striking out "together with a statement of the evidence relied upon and the reasoning employed in reaching its decision".

Sec. 5. Section 511 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 1643j) is amended to read as follows:

"APPROPRIATIONS

"Sec. 511. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed \$750,000, as may be necessary to enable the Commission to pay its administrative expenses incurred in carrying out its functions under this title."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. YATES). Is a second demanded?

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 9336 which is to amend title V of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 relating to certain claims against the Government of Cuba.

In the last session of Congress a similar bill was passed by this same body authorizing the adjudication of claims by U.S. citizens against the Castro government. In the closing days of last year's session, the other body voted out a bill which differed from the House version. On the last day of the session and for no other purpose in mind other than to have Cuban claims on our statute books, we reluctantly accepted the Senate version.

H.R. 9336 is similar to the bill passed last year. An authorization for an appropriation for adjudication expenses is limited to \$750,000, and is the same as provided by the House version last year. When a settlement with a free and independent Government of Cuba is agreed upon and paid, the United States will be reimbursed for the administrative expenses in the adjudication of these claims.

The enactment of this legislation is not to be construed as any intention to authorize an appropriation now or in the future of Federal funds for the purpose of paying the claims of U.S. nationals against the Government of Cuba. This bill provides only for the receipt and determination by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the amount and validity of claims of U.S. nationals against the Government of Cuba.

The other amendments referred to in this bill are substantive and relate to the principles of international law and domestic laws; such as, statute of limitations, and laches.

More than 5 years have passed since the Castro government began confiscating the property of U.S. nationals and prompt adjudication of claims would be in the best interests of all concerned.

H.R. 9336 provides the necessary authority to set the machinery in motion for an orderly determination of the amount and validity of claims of U.S. nationals against the Government of Cuba while the means of documenting and supporting such claims are still available. Adjudication of such claims have been delayed because of a lack of an appropriation. If this matter is further delayed, witnesses and claimants may die and records may be lost, thus making it increasingly difficult to substantiate claims. Moreover, the prompt receipt

and determination of amounts and validity of the claims will provide the Department of State with an accurate record for use in any future negotiations.

For these reasons, I urgently recommend that H.R. 9336 be passed by the House.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to commend the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] for this bill. I served on the subcommittee which considered this legislation. I think it is good legislation and ought to be passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. There being no further requests for time, the question is on the motion of the gentleman from Florida that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 9336.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GORGAS MEMORIAL LABORATORY

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 511), with amendment to increase the authorization of appropriations for the support of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 511

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, effective for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1963, the first section of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize a permanent annual appropriation for the maintenance and operation of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory", approved May 7, 1928, as amended (45 Stat. 491; 22 U.S.C. 278), is amended by striking out "\$250,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "not to exceed \$500,000".*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is a second demanded?

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, S. 511 would increase the annual authorization for appropriations for the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory from \$250,000 to \$500,000.

The laboratory was established in 1929 through legislative agreement between the Governments of the United States and the Republic of Panama. Since that time the Gorgas Laboratory has been performing a valuable, needed service in research in tropical diseases. Its research activities also have implications which extend beyond the tropics. Many of the human and animal diseases that flourish in tropical regions are also found in, or may spread to, the temperate zones.

The laboratory collaborates with many other research and public health organizations, including the Middle America Research Unit, a laboratory in the Canal



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Zone operated by the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases in collaboration with the Water Reed Army Institute of Research.

The Gorgas Memorial Laboratory, located in Panama City, Republic of Panama, is the operating research establishment of the Gorgas Memorial Institute, a private, domestic, nonstock corporation. U.S. contributions to the laboratory started in 1929 with an annual permanent authorization of \$50,000. The authorization for the laboratory was increased to \$150,000 in 1949, and \$250,000 in 1959. In 1960, the Congress authorized \$500,000 for the construction of new facilities at the laboratory, making it one of the best equipped of its kind in Latin America. The additional authorization provided for in this bill will make it possible to fully utilize these new facilities.

The Gorgas Memorial Laboratory has an international reputation and a long standing record of service in the western hemisphere. The Republic of Panama has cooperated closely with the laboratory in the achievement of its objectives. The management of the institute has administered the funds made available with prudence and care. The Board of Directors meets annually without compensation and determines policies of the institute. An advisory group of noted scientists assists in developing the research program. There are 26 members of this group, primarily doctors, and 23 of them represent U.S. institutions.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I urge that the House act favorably on this measure to permit the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory to carry on its important work.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to have the honor of presenting this bill. The Gorgas Laboratory has been doing for many years an outstanding job. It has been a remarkable demonstration of what willing, dedicated people can do to blot out diseases, particularly tropical diseases, such as are found there.

General Gorgas himself was a most amazing man; kindly to a degree and his heart as big as the world. It seemed very fitting when the Laboratory was established that it should take the form that it did. It is a very great pleasure to me to approve the bill.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mrs. BOLTON. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend the committee, and in particular the subcommittee, for bringing out this bill upgrading the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory. As has been well said here by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] this memorial laboratory is an outgrowth of the successful attempt of this country to build the Panama Canal. It is from such sources, and the discovery of "yellow-jack" and the vector for controlling malaria, that the Memorial Laboratory was organized on a gradually evolving and cooperative basis between Panama

and this Government, our Army Surgeons General and the great men of preventive medicine such as Gorgas himself, Cummings, Reed, Ricketts, Leonard Wood, who was memorialized yesterday at Fort Leonard Wood, having an Army hospital named after him, in which I was privileged to participate, and others.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, it is noteworthy that all of the memorabilia that were in Cuba which was liberated as a result primarily of some of these early preventive medicines discoveries in the so-called Spanish-American War, had been destroyed by burning in the streets of Cuba, after the Castro takeover.

Mr. Speaker, I know personally of the research that has evolved from the Laboratory and of the great men of science who have functioned and studied and researched and developed good for humanity therein.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this bill for one other reason, if the gentleman from Ohio will yield further, and that is as stated, it cooperates with the Pan American Health Organization which is a subdivision of the World Health Organization in needed matters that do cross international boundaries. But this is uniquely American and Western Hemispheric organization and laboratory.

Mr. Speaker, lest we become too deeply involved in one organization of a strictly "international character" taking over all research and functions, especially under its aegis, in situations particularly unique to the Western Hemisphere, Latin America, and our Central American friends in particular, I strongly urge the support of this bill.

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mrs. BOLTON. I thank the gentleman from Missouri very much for his contribution.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in support of the request for the additional authorization for the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory, I wish to point out that the great work performed by the laboratory directly contributes to the health of U.S. citizens.

As an example, one project currently being worked on deals with migratory birds since there is evidence that viruses such as St. Louis encephalitis and Venezuelan equine encephalitis are transmitted to the United States by these migratory birds. When World War II broke out, and the United States lost its source of quinine and troops in southeast Asia were riddled with malaria, it was the work done by the first director of the laboratory, Dr. Herbert Clark, that permitted the U.S. Army to prescribe Atabrine safely and in sufficient dosage to control the situation in southeast Asia. I pray to God that no similar problems will arise in South Vietnam, but we must be prepared.

There is no duplication between the

work of the laboratory and other agencies. It works closely with the Pan American Health Organization and the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. The Gorgas Memorial Institute which runs the laboratory also works closely with private institutions; one such program is a graduate research program with Louisiana State University where teachers and graduate students are sent to the laboratory in Panama for short-term periods to pursue work in tropical medicine. Similarly, the institute has close relationships with other American universities—Stanford, Harvard, and Kansas, to name a few. This aspect of the program will be expanded.

The General Accounting Office annually reviews the expenditures of the institute and the laboratory, and the Comptroller General's report has been a part of the laboratory's annual report for many years. The GAO has never criticized any expenditure made by this worthy enterprise.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend favorable consideration of this bill to increase the authorization of appropriations for the support of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Alabama that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill S. 511, with an amendment.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill as amended was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### FEDERAL BOXING COMMISSION

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 8635) to establish and prescribe the duties of a Federal Boxing Commission for the purpose of insuring that the channels of interstate commerce are free from false or fraudulent descriptions or depictions of professional boxing contests.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 8635

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Federal Boxing Control Act".

#### FINDINGS AND POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds that—

(1) interstate and foreign communications facilities are being utilized to cover professional boxing matches by broadcasting such matches by television or radio or by disseminating such matches by wire to be received on home receivers or in theaters, arenas, or other places of assembly; and

(2) at present, neither State nor Federal governmental authorities have adequate power to assure the proper utilization of such communication facilities in connection with the coverage of professional boxing matches and to protect the integrity of professional boxing matches thus covered.

(b) It is, therefore, the purpose of this Act to establish a Federal Boxing Commission

quirements providing control over intrastate traffic in these drugs, and making possession of stimulants and depressants except under specified conditions illegal. As is always the case, if a particular State law or regulation places more stringent controls over these drugs, those requirements must be complied with.

#### DRUGS COVERED

Barbiturates and amphetamines are specifically named in the law. However, the law speaks in terms of "depressant or stimulant drugs" which also includes any drug which contains any quantity of a substance which is found to have a potential for abuse because of its depressant or stimulant effect on the central nervous system or its hallucinogenic effect. Thus, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare can bring additional drugs under the controls of the law by regulation. He may also exempt drugs which would otherwise be included within the literal language of the law when the controls are not necessary for the protection of public health. HEW Under Secretary Wilbur Cohen revealed that the Department has been reviewing additional drugs with a view to having necessary regulations promulgated by the date the bill takes effect—February 1, 1966.

#### FEDERAL REGISTRATION

Manufacturers, compounders, and processors and other firms already registered under the Drug Amendments of 1962 are required to indicate whether they are producing or distributing stimulant and depressant drugs in their registration statement. The act does add wholesalers, jobbers, and distributors of stimulant and depressant drugs only to the list of firms which must register. Wholesalers and jobbers were exempted from the registration under the drug amendments of 1962.

Wholesaling, jobbing, or distributing is defined as selling any depressant or stimulant drug "to any person who is not the ultimate user or consumer." The report of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce pointed out that pharmacies maintained in conformance with applicable State laws are exempted from the registration requirement.

Presumably, pharmacists who occasionally furnish a medical practitioner with office supplies or a fellow pharmacist with supplies to replenish his stock pending receipt of an order from a manufacturer or a wholesaler would not have to register; however, a pharmacist regularly engaged in wholesaling office supplies to physicians or dispensing stocks to other pharmacists would be required to register.

Since it is clear that the law contemplates a complete and accurate record, the pharmacist must indicate the name and address of the pharmacist or physician to whom he delivered the supply, the kind and quantity of the drugs involved. The pharmacist (or the physician if he otherwise must keep records under the law) receiving the drugs must also make a record showing the name of the pharmacist from whom received, the kind and quantity of drugs involved, and the date. No registration number is required, because the law speaks of "the registration number, if any, . . ." and pharmacies are not required to register with the HEW Secretary.

#### RECORDS

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare report notes the intention to "establish controls upon the distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs throughout the chain of distribution, from the basic manufacturer to . . . the ultimate consumer." Each person handling stimulant and depressant drugs must prepare a complete inventory of all stocks on hand as of the effective date of the legislation—February 1, 1966—and keep the inventory for at

least 3 years. Thereafter, a record must be maintained.

For stimulant and depressant drugs received: the kind and quantity of the drug; the name, address, and registration number (assigned by HEW) of the person from whom received; the date of the transaction.

For stimulant and depressant drugs dispensed: the kind and quantity of the drug dispensed or otherwise disposed of; the name, address, and registration number (generally not applicable for pharmacists or physicians) of the person obtaining the drug; the date of the transaction.

The records must be kept for 3 years unless State laws specify a longer period.

In most instances, the wholesaler or manufacturer invoice will comply with the receipt record and the prescription file or patient chart with the dispensing record provided all the required information is available.

The law also provides that the HEW Secretary shall exempt from the provisions of the act by regulation any drug which may be sold over-the-counter; combinations, which include one or more substances in such quantity, proportion, or concentration sufficient to prevent the stimulant or depressant drug from being ingested or absorbed in large enough quantities, to cause the stimulant, depressant, or hallucinogenic effect.

#### INSPECTION

The record of receipt and disposition of depressant or stimulant drugs must be available for Food and Drug Administration employees to inspect. Pharmacists may maintain separate files in much the same manner as is now done for narcotics and where this is done, both the Senate and House committee reports make it clear that the inspection authority is limited to those separate files. However, the law specifically provides that no separate records need be kept and the records need not be in any special form. Normal business and pharmaceutical records are sufficient. In hospitals, patient order files and patient medical charts are sufficient.

In the debate on H.R. 2 on the floor of the House, a colloquy between Congressman HARRIS and Congressman ROGERS of Florida pointed out that the inspection authority is not intended to confer any broader searches than the records for stimulant and depressant drugs. The Congressmen agreed that "this does not in effect authorize fishing expeditions" of the pharmacists' records.

In light of the prior congressional denial of inspection authority to FDA agents, a court will have to rule on whether an FDA inspector can utilize any evidence he may discover which does not relate to stimulant or depressant drugs where no separate records are maintained.

The law and both committee reports emphasize that no special records need be maintained. This would be effectively nullified if evidence not relating to stimulant or depressant drugs was gathered under H.R. 2's inspection authority and later used against the pharmacist. This would force pharmacists to maintain separate records or relinquish rights they otherwise would have.

#### PROFESSIONAL SAMPLES AND PHYSICIANS

The House debate clearly indicates that a record must be made of professional samples of stimulant or depressant drugs obtained from medical representatives. Likewise, the medical representative has to keep a record of the disposition of any professional samples to pharmacists or physicians. This is to preclude the development of a gap in tracing the distribution of these drugs.

Physicians and other licensed practitioners who regularly engage in dispensing stimulant or depressant drugs to their patients and who make a charge for the drugs "either separately or together with charges for other professional services" must also keep records of receipt and disposition and make them available for inspection.

#### WHO MAY LAWFULLY POSSESS

Manufacturers, processors, and wholesale druggists dealing in stimulant or depressant drugs must register with the Secretary of HEW and may then lawfully possess the drugs in the usual course of their legitimate businesses. Common carriers and their employees are also authorized to possess the drugs in the usual course of their legitimate business. Stimulant and depressant drugs may lawfully be possessed by (1) pharmacies; (2) hospitals; (3) clinics; (4) public health agencies which maintain establishments in conformance with any applicable local laws regulating the practice of pharmacy and medicine; (5) physicians; (6) dentists, and other practitioners licensed by State law to administer depressant or stimulant drugs in their practices; (7) persons utilizing the drugs in research, teaching, or chemical analysis as long as the drugs are not for sale; (8) officers and employees of Federal, State, or local governments while acting in the course of their official duties; (9) nurses and other medical technicians who are under the supervision of a practitioner licensed by law to administer stimulant and depressant drugs while acting in the course of employment or occupation and not on their own account; (10) employees and agents of groups (1) through (7) noted above while acting in the course of their employment; (11) patients or a responsible member of the patient's household for his personal use or that of a member of his household or for administration to an animal owned by him or a member of his household.

#### PRESCRIPTION ORDERS AND RENEWALS

Prescription orders, to comply with record requirements, must contain the name and address of the patient and the date of issue which are the normal requirements for all prescription orders. There is no requirement that the prescription order must be written and signed by the prescriber; stimulant or depressant drugs may be dispensed on telephoned or oral instructions according to the usual practice. However, no prescription order can be renewed more than five times and no prescription order can be dispensed or renewed more than six months after the date of issue. If the prescriber indicates a larger number of renewals or a longer duration, the five renewals and six month limit still apply. However, if there are no renewal instructions, then the prescription is nonrenewable.

These requirements apply to all prescriptions after the effective date of the law regardless of the date on which they were written. After the 5 renewals or 6 months has elapsed, the physician may prescribe additional renewals for a like period.

#### UNLAWFUL ACTS AND PENALTIES

Any person who violates the provisions of the act is subject to the penalties of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. Conviction carries a punishment of imprisonment for not more than 1 year and a fine of not more than \$1,000 or both for the first offense and imprisonment for not more than 3 years and a fine not more than \$10,000 or both for subsequent offenses. An additional penalty has been added where stimulant or depressant drugs are sold to a person under 21 years of age. For a first offense, the punishment is imprisonment for not more than 2 years and a fine not more than \$5,000 or both, and subsequent violations carry a penalty of not more than 6 years imprisonment and a fine of not more than \$15,000 or both. Violations include possession of stimulant or depressant drugs except as authorized in the law; failure to prepare and keep an accurate record of receipt and disposition of stimulant and depressant drugs; refusal to access to or copying of any of the required records; refusal to permit authorized inspections; dispensing or renewing any prescription more than 6 months after its date of issue or

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mately succeeded, with a generous assist from the United States, in toppling Fulgencio Batista's regime on January 1, 1959, and selling Cuba out to communism.

It was not until December 2, 1961, that Castro finally acknowledged what was by that time obvious; i. e., that he was a dedicated agent of the international Communist conspiracy. But he declared on that occasion:

"Did I believe (in Marxism) on 26 July (1953)? I did believe on 26 July.

The mistake the U.S. State Department made in believing Castro was not a Communist in 1953 was only the first in a long series of blunders that continued to characterize our policy toward communism in this hemisphere. Whatever reasons there may have been for believing Castro was non-Communist in 1953 or 1959, there is no doubt whatsoever today that he and his regime are disciples of Marxism, and that Cuba is the center for subversion in Latin America.

The United States, however, is abstaining from even encouraging Cuban refugees in another "26 de Julio" movement that would fulfill the betrayed promise of free elections, democratic government, and liberty for the people of Cuba.

The spirit of the 26th of July movement long ago was betrayed by Fidel Castro and his clan of Communist conspirators. The brave, freedom-loving Cubans now have no one to help them revive that spirit.

### Ending the U.N. Deadlock

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include at this point the lead editorial which appeared in the New York Times of August 17, entitled "Ending the U.N. Deadlock."

The possibility that our Government would revise its position had been reported in the press recently, and I had previously indicated my strong support of a more flexible position which would remove the deadlock which has paralyzed the General Assembly and affected the work of the United Nations for a year.

The editorial follows:

#### ENDING THE U.N. DEADLOCK

Washington's decision to terminate the controversy over Soviet and French peace-keeping arrears was based on a recognition that there was no other practical way to preserve the world organization.

The year-long deadlock in the General Assembly demonstrated conclusively that the United Nations could be destroyed, but that it could not be strengthened, by the futile effort to force a great power to contribute to peacekeeping operations of which it disapproved.

Most member countries of the world organization came to this conclusion months ago. For this reason alone, it has been clear for some time that Washington had no real alternative but to accept the majority view. The United States could not set itself up as the sole guardian of the U.N.'s interests, no matter how unassailable its legal position.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg pointed up the most crucial aspect of the problem yesterday when he said that "the United States

agrees, in light of present world tensions, that the General Assembly must proceed with its work." The need to preserve the U.N. for a possible role in Vietnam as well as the other troubled areas has made it increasingly urgent that the Assembly meet, vote and resume normal business next month.

The revision of the American position involved compromises within the Johnson administration and in Congress. Some of the strains this created were reflected both in what Ambassador Goldberg said yesterday and in what he left unsaid. One thing left unsaid was what the United States would do to help the U.N. wipe out its \$108 million deficit.

Britain and the Scandinavian countries have shown the way with unconditional donations of \$18 million. Washington, presumably, is waiting for the Soviet Union to keep its promise of a "substantial contribution." Washington would have been wiser to state—as Adlai Stevenson urged before his death—that the United States intends to help the United Nations in its finances regardless of what other countries do.

A similar position might well have been taken in another respect. If the Soviet Union has been wrong to open a breach in the Assembly's authority to assess its members, is the United States right to open this breach wider by emphasizing—before any issue arises—that it "reserves the same option"? Suggesting that Washington might emulate Moscow in this regard is a poor contribution to strengthening international morality.

The paramount consideration, however, is the need to end the debt crisis and put the General Assembly back to work. Equally important, the United States has not yielded on the Assembly's authority to initiate peacekeeping operations when the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility, is immobilized by a veto. Voluntary contributions have effectively financed such operations in the past and there is no reason why they cannot in the future.

Taken as a whole, the new flexibility in the American position is welcome. It will not resolve all the difficulties that face the United Nations. But, by resolving the present impasse, it will preserve the world organization for a future in which it can gradually again grow in strength.

### Eccentrics Unnecessary

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Des Plaines Valley News, an independent publication serving communities in southeast suburban Cook County, produced a brief editorial in its Thursday, August 12, edition which I believe is a most timely and significant comment on a phase in current civil disobedience actions:

#### ECCENTRICS UNNECESSARY

In the flood of those photos of marchers for various movements or demonstrations allied with the Negro cause for equality, the aim for peace for Vietnam, and the rebellion at the college campuses are seen the eccentrics.

These are those bearded, unkempt individuals that in earlier days one would class as "bums." These seldom bother to wear

common attire, but always wear the extreme.

They are passionate in their demands. The causes they support are sometimes as queer as their apparel. However, note that where some cause gets public attention and TV coverage these individuals are surely seen to be among the other, more dedicated leaders of the movement.

The citizens that watch are treated with contempt. Apparently this group finds that such oddity catches the attention of the public.

One cannot pass judgment on the plight of these individuals but it would do well if the leaders of important causes sort of improve their image and exile the eccentrics or face attention of the sort that they rather not have.

### Praise Due Self-Policing Efforts of Nation's Pharmacists

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which handled the recently enacted Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965, I was pleased to see the efforts taken by the industry to fully effect the provisions of the new law.

The American Pharmaceutical Association has just circulated a reference guide explaining the provisions of the new law to various health practitioners. This effort stands as a fine example of the type of cooperation and initiative needed to curb the illicit traffic in barbiturate and amphetamine drugs.

I include the American Pharmaceutical Association pamphlet in the RECORD at this point:

H.R. 2 AND YOU—A REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE DRUG ABUSE CONTROL AMENDMENTS OF 1965 FOR HEALTH PRACTITIONERS

(NOTE.—After more than a decade of proposals and hearings, the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965 establish special controls for depressant and stimulant drugs. Practitioners of the health professions know the measure as H.R. 2 by Representative HARRIS (89th Cong.), the Dodd bill (88th and 87th Congs.), after its sponsor, Senator DODD, the Boggs bill in earlier Congresses, and the barbiturate and amphetamine proposal.)

The American Pharmaceutical Association, the national professional society of pharmacists, presents the highlights of the new law affecting the health practitioners here. The purpose of this effort is to educate those who must practice under this new law as to the requirements established and acquaint them with their individual responsibilities created under the legislation. We firmly believe that the pharmacists of this country conscientiously assume their ethical and legal obligations. The American Pharmaceutical Association hopes this commentary will foster an understanding of the purposes and details of the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965.

The Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965 amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and place additional controls over stimulant and depressant drugs through increased recordkeeping and inspection re-

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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in fact as well as any man I have ever known. This did not prevent him, however, from committing his most disastrous political blunder—the attack on the Supreme Court. But, it did enable him to govern New York State during the Seabury investigation of the late Mayor James J. Walker's administration, without assisting Judge Seabury in the least and without favoring the Democratic organization at all. Both sides assailed him. Both called him the man on the flying trap-eze, but neither sensed that he enjoyed that role very much.

His sense that his place in history depended on what he did for the common man was called demagoguery by his opponents. I just won't accept this at all. I sat in those early cabinet meetings, and I can tell you there was no time for demagoguery. The hour was too late and the days too full of anxiety for any thought other than the welfare of our country. The banks had been closed and reopened, but they were shaky. Millions were jobless and millions were hungry.

Those pieces of legislation pounded out in the forge of imminent national failure were entrusted in a large measure to me—operating as chairman of the Democratic National Committee—to effectuate on the Hill. Many men took part in their formation—and it is significant as the late Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, pointed out, that of the 100-odd basic acts—such as labor legislation, banking reforms, securities regulation, social security and many others—not one has been repealed and all have been augmented by both parties in succeeding sessions of the Congress. Accordingly, it is unkind, unfair and untrue to call Mr. Roosevelt a demagogue on this score.

To be sure, he loved the approval of the people and the lionization by his huge following. But who doesn't? Loving applause and rabble rousing are two different things. There are two factors which prevented F.D.R. from becoming a rabble rouser. First, and you may believe this or not, he was deeply conservative. He hated to spend public money unnecessarily, and he dreamed of the day he could balance the budget.

I shall always remember an evening I spent with him after dinner in the White House as he was going over with me matters on which of necessity required his approval. I shall never forget when he said if the price of cotton which I think was then 6 cents a pound in the market could be raised to 10 or 11 cents, and corn and wheat could be raised from the price offered in the Kansas City markets, comparable with the increase on cotton—and if it were possible to increase the national income from approximately, as I recall it, \$57 to \$60 billion at that time—to approximately \$75 billion we would be able to balance the budget—which if my memory serves me correctly—was approximately \$7 billion.

The public needs, and the necessity of spending held his mind; but close to his heart was the idea of stopping Federal spending as quickly as he could. At the slightest rise in the economic health of the country, he would stop spending. In fact, he stopped spending so abruptly in 1937 that it brought about a recession. Perhaps nothing illustrates how conservative he was at heart more than the discovery that the ex-president of the New York Stock Exchange, Richard Whitney, was an embezzler. Had F.D.R. been a demagogue, he would have gone to the country screaming, "I told you so," and demanded fuller powers. He could have gotten them, too. But he did nothing of the kind. Perhaps it is an index to F.D.R. the man that tears came to his eyes. "I can't believe that Dick would do such a thing," he said and added "Poor Groton." They had been schoolmates there.

One of his great qualities was to turn reverses into a joke. Thus, when he lost the

purge elections, defeating only one opponent, the chairman of the Rules Committee, John O'Connor, of New York, he laughed off his defeat with the marvelous wisecrack, "It was a bad season, but we won the Yale game."

Another time, when his executive secretary, the very able James Rowe, urged him to take an action to which he was opposed—according to Jim Rowe, the President said, "Jim, you've made a forceful argument, but by accident we're not going to do it."

"By accident?" asked Rowe. "What accident?"

"The accident that the people of the United States elected me President instead of you," F.D.R. laughed.

I have told you that he was a man who could throw off a jibe, but there was one which cut him deeply. That came at a time when he was convinced that the country had to prepare for war. Taking the cue from his agricultural plan of reducing crops by a third, the President's foreign policy was described on the Senate floor as a plan to plow under every third American boy. That hurt, hurt deeply, so deeply that it was weeks before he rallied enough to be very angry about it.

He liked nothing better than new ideas and interesting people and he especially liked to talk to them over a cocktail at day's end. He fancied himself as a great cocktail mixer, with few equals in martinis, and without parallel in old-fashioned ones.

He was deeply aware of the prerogatives of the Presidency. He insisted that the great respect for the office be observed because none respected it more than he. Thus, he was annoyed when an autograph seeker presumed to go upstairs in the White House to get it. He refused and ordered him expelled.

Although his life had been attempted in Miami, it affected him little. He was a fatalist about that, and as I have previously said, he was deeply religious. He often said, "If they want you, they'll get you, and there isn't anything you can do about it." In fact, it was the Cabinet which intervened to put more protection around him. The Attorney General, Robert H. Jackson, was summoned to the White House one midnight, and found only one old guard between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Lincoln Room. He protested strongly and after that Mr. Roosevelt consented to more security measures.

He, of course, loved the Navy, because of his boyhood sailing days. He also, of course, had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson, a job also held at one time by President Theodore Roosevelt. With his admirals he was in especially close contact. He could take criticizing of his other departments very well, but those attacking the Navy were on thin ice. He would shut off those critics with a single sentence "What do they know about battleships?"

His administration has been described as the greatest royal court since Louis XIV. There is a certain element of truth about this. While the President was bold in imagination, swift in execution, and highly knowledgeable about government finance, administration was not one of his strong points. He was little less than grand in his delegation of authority; he was magnificent in backing up the men he appointed, but unfortunately he often appointed two departments with sweeping powers to do the same job. This resulted in terrible departmental fights, which F.D.R. dearly loved. Since both sides bitterly complained to him, he kept himself, at least, fully informed.

His method of reaching policy decisions in those early days is worthy of note. I have for it the greatest admiration. He would invite all points of view to the White House for dinner, or immediately thereafter. He

would introduce the subject for discussion, and then listen to all sides. Sometime after 11 o'clock he would turn to Miss LeHand and say "Missy, I think this is the best we can do." He would then and there dictate his ideas in a memorandum. All had had their say, and all had a precise idea of what the President wanted. Thereafter, very frequently, would delegate the job to two competing departments, and the fur would start to fly.

Nor did his idea of administration stop there. His kitchen cabinet often had more access than the regular Cabinet. Hopkins and Corcoran were his principal lieutenants after the death of Louis Howe and to the annoyance of many department heads their word was law more often than not. It is in pattern that these two men also ended up at loggerheads as did many of his department heads.

This dislike of ordinary channels led him to value new faces and new ideas. In that respect, he was very typical of the age in which he was educated. He had a little knowledge of nearly everything. He was an avid reader, with a great memory, and there was scarcely a subject on which he could not contribute an anecdote or an observation. This accounts in part for his great personal charm. The experts of the country who had spent lifetimes on a particular subject would find that F.D.R. knew enough about it to grasp immediately what they were talking about. This wide range of interest, these smatterings, if you will, gave F.D.R. the ability to be a great and sympathetic listener, without which quality he could not have been the justly famous conversationalist that he was.

If he had a single great love, I believe it was American history. On this, he was an authority, as is President Truman. For Mr. Roosevelt, it had the excitement of contest. One could almost see him visualizing himself on how he would have acted had he been President at that time. He had a genuinely deep affection for our country, regarding it as the greatest romance of his story. That spirit, I think characterized his administrations while I was in the Cabinet. One almost felt the warmth and keen interest of the administrations since George Washington, and here I will say that, in my opinion, there has never been an administration—Republican or Democratic, without it. The Cabinet and the President of the United States are, in our history, majestic, and I never knew a man holding such position who did not give the country the best that was in him. I have no patience with those cynics who believe that there is no such thing as consecrated public service.

I have said that it is difficult to separate the man from the work, and it is. But by their works shall ye know them, and if this be the standard, F.D.R. stands anchored in American history with the rest of our greatest Presidents.

As for F.D.R. the man, and myself, I have this to say. Since it is fair to say that we parted on principle, it also follows that we met on principle, the principle of what was best for New York State and later the Republic. For 12 full years, we saw the result of our labors enacted into laws which still stand as the laws of our country, laws which are now endorsed in the platforms of both parties.

Further, the pattern of concern for our fellow Americans has been elaborated to a principal and permanent goal of the Nation.

None of these would have been possible without President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

And so, it is my absolute conviction that Franklin Delano Roosevelt the man—can safely rest his case before God, the American people and history—on the works and deeds of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32d President of the United States.

A4640

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

August 18, 1965

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Free Press, Aug. 6, 1965]

**FARLEY CALLS F.D.R. "CONSERVATIVE"—  
SPEAKS AT KALAMAZOO**

**KALAMAZOO.**—A man politically close to Franklin D. Roosevelt Thursday night described the New Deal President as "deeply conservative," a man who "hated to spend public money unnecessarily" and one who "dreamed of the day he could balance the budget."

This assessment of Roosevelt came from James A. Farley, his Postmaster General 8 years and, as Democratic national chairman, director of the first two of his four successful campaigns for the presidency.

The assessment was made in a lecture, "FDR—The Man," prepared for delivery as the last in a series on "The Roosevelt Era," sponsored by Kalamazoo College to commemorate the 20th anniversary of his death.

The Nation's worst depression existed when F. D. R. took office. The world's worst war was raging when he died in office.

Farley and Roosevelt split politically when the latter decided to seek a third term. Farley opposed more than two for any man, and he said Thursday "severance took place on a basis of principle, not personality."

Farley, now chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., prefaced his description of Roosevelt as deeply conservative by saying: "you may believe this or not."

"The public needs and the necessity for spending held his mind. But close to his heart," Farley said, "was the idea of stopping Federal spending as quickly as he could."

"At the slightest rise in the economic health of the country, he would stop spending. In fact, he stopped spending so abruptly in 1937 that it brought on a recession."

Farley said Roosevelt liked nothing better than new ideas and interesting people and especially liked to talk over cocktails at day's end.

"He fancied himself," Farley added, "as a great cocktail mixer, with few equals in martinis, and without parallel in old-fashioneded. . . ."

"I believe he was gifted with a sense of destiny and of leadership," Farley said, "which stood him and the Nation in good stead in hours of grave crisis."

Ticking off landmarks in New Deal legislation, such as social security and banking reform, Farley said "we saw the results of our labors enacted into laws which still stand . . . laws which are now endorsed in the platforms of both parties."

"And so," he concluded, "it is my absolute conviction that Franklin Delano Roosevelt the man—can safely rest his case before God, the American people, and history—on, the works and deeds of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32d President of the United States."

"His administration has been described as the greatest royal court since Louis XIV. There is a certain element of truth about this. While the President was bold in imagination, swift in execution and highly knowledgeable about Government finance, administration was not one of his strong points."

The former Cabinet member said "he was little less than grand in delegating authority," but "unfortunately he often appointed two departments with sweeping powers to do the same job."

"This resulted in terrible departmental fights, which F. D. R. dearly loved."

[From the Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette, Aug. 6, 1965]

**FARLEY ENTHUSIASTIC OVER BOTH F.D.R.,  
L.B.J.**

(By Tim Richard)

If James A. Farley is enthusiastic about the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he served as Postmaster General and

Democratic National Committee chairman, he is just as enthusiastic about the works of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

"He will go down in history as one of our greatest Presidents," Farley said of L.B.J. "No President has put through as much controversial legislation as Johnson, and in such a short time."

The old New Dealer was asked in an interview this morning to contrast the personalities of F.D.R. and L.B.J.

Roosevelt was the Harvard- and Columbia-educated aristocrat, "even tempered, not too explosive. He didn't like criticism; no President does."

"Like all men, he could be very small at times," Farley said, recalling F.D.R.'s refusal to do favors for persons who had offended him sometime in the past.

"He liked to be told he was tough, but he wasn't," Farley said.

Johnson, on the other hand, was born in meager circumstances, received a less elaborate education in Texas colleges, started as a teacher, then went to Washington as a congressional assistant, Farley recalled.

"He's politically minded, and he likes the political atmosphere of Washington," Farley said. "He isn't going to try to hurt, he won't attempt punishment, of someone who votes against him."

Whereas Farley said unboastfully that he handled F.D.R.'s relations with individual Congressmen—"they knew I spoke with the authority of the President"—Johnson takes charge of congressional relations himself.

"His personal relations with Senator DIRKSEN (Republican leader) are as close as with Senator MANSFIELD (Democratic leader)," Farley observed.

One exception to L.B.J.'s no-retaliation rule occurred when the President became sensitive to the criticism of Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, over the administration's Vietnam war escalation policy.

Johnson asked CHURCH where he got his ideas, and CHURCH replied he read liberal columnist Walter Lippmann. Farley chuckled as he recalled L.B.J.'s retort:

"The next time you want a dam, talk to Lippmann about it."

[From the Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette, Aug. 6, 1965]

**FARLEY DESCRIBES F.D.R. IN TALK HERE**

(By Rob Warden)

James A. Farley, at 77, characterizes Franklin D. Roosevelt as a man who "rests his case with God, the American people, and history."

Speaking Thursday night at Kalamazoo College, Farley commented that he "broke with President Roosevelt because of principle, not because of personality."

Farley, U.S. Postmaster General during F.D.R.'s first two terms, resigned in 1940 because he opposed the idea of a President breaking tradition by seeking a third term.

Concluding a lecture series commemorating the 20th anniversary of President Roosevelt's death, Farley called F.D.R. "a deeply good man, and really quite religious."

"It is unkind, unfair, and untrue to call Mr. Roosevelt a demagogue," Farley said. "He was deeply conservative, and dreamed of the day he could balance the budget."

"Big Jim" was Democratic national chairman and directed the successful Roosevelt presidential campaigns in 1932 and 1936. He is currently board chairman of Coca Cola Export Co.

Farley's talk Thursday night concerned only the first two terms of President Roosevelt, while Farley was a member of the cabinet.

Referring to his resignation from the administration, Farley said, "Men must be very close to have a split between them become first-page news."

The public needs and the necessity for spending held Roosevelt's mind, but close to his heart was the idea of stopping Federal spending as quickly as he could, Farley said.

"At the slightest rise in the economic health of the country he would stop spending. In fact, he stopped spending so abruptly in 1937 that it brought on a recession," Farley recalled.

Roosevelt liked to be surrounded by interesting people with new ideas and he particularly enjoyed discussions with them over a drink at the day's end, Farley said.

"Mr. Roosevelt was exceptionally canny and knowledgeable," Farley said, "and he liked nothing better than new ideas and new faces."

"He fancied himself as a great cocktail mixer, with few equals in martinis, and without parallel in old-fashioneded."

"His administration has been described as the greatest royal court since Louis XIV. There is a certain element of truth about this," Farley observed.

"While the President was bold in imagination, swift in execution and highly knowledgeable about government finance, administration was not one of his strong points," Farley added.

Farley said Roosevelt enjoyed much more freedom of action in his first two terms than in the last two when "the compulsions of war and of falling health assailed him."

Giving his personal estimate of F.D.R., Farley said "I believe he was gifted with a sense of destiny and of leadership which stood him and the Nation in good stead in hours of grave crisis."

Farley, who stands 6 feet, 2 inches and weighs 215 pounds, said he admired F.D.R.'s vitality in lieu of the handicap that polio had imposed on him. "In this way," Farley said, "he was like Theodore Roosevelt. They both had great physical vitality, and they both had physical handicaps."

President Roosevelt, however, was less than perfect, Farley said. "He often appointed two departments with sweeping powers to do the same job."

Looking back 25 years at the history he helped make, Farley commented that F.D.R. "stands in American history with the great Presidents."

*W H Edward J. Derwinski*  
Twelve Years Later

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we watch the growing demands of some Communist-infiltrated organizations and other groups of well-meaning but misguided Americans, and as we observe the voices of appeasement within the hierarchy of this administration, it would be practical for us to heed the very timely commentary on history which appeared in the Seymour Daily Tribune recently:

TWELVE YEARS LATER

July 26, 1953—July 26, 1965.

For Castro and his fellow Communists, 12 years of struggle, then triumph, then total, tyrannical dominion over the island and people of Cuba.

It was 12 years ago that a band of rebel Cuban youths with Fidel Castro at their head attacked the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. This was the first strike in a 5½-year guerrilla campaign that ulti-



And in its preoccupation with Vietnam, the American public has failed to notice very significant and troubling developments south of the border.

But events are not only proving that Castro's threats are not so empty, but are also calling into question many of the smug assumptions about developments in such places as Venezuela.

Any comparisons to Vietnam area are of course to the earliest stages of that war when victims of terror and ambush were listed by the dozens rather by the thousands.

#### ASSUMPTION IN VENEZUELA

With regard to Venezuela, it has been assumed in Washington that the success 2 years ago in holding free elections in spite of opposition from Communist terrorists had more or less settled the guerrilla problem.

After all, it was reasoned the Venezuelan Government was freely chosen, left of center, and very progressive in social good works. More than most people on this earth, Americans cling to the myth that good government is of itself a defense against Communist guerrillas.

Very handily for the Communists, we have been brainwashed into assuming that Communist terrorists can thrive only if most of the people are against a government. It is a very unhistoric assumption.

In Europe, the destruction of Czechoslovakia's popular and progressive government by a Communist minority is just one of many examples of the fact that the Communists usually take over in spite of the will of the majority.

#### VENEZUELA LESSON

In Venezuela, the lesson is that terrorist guerrillas, if supported from the outside (Cuba) can dangerously increase their troublemaking capacity in spite of good government—a government that has among other things effectively worked at matters of land reform and helping the peasantry.

As in Vietnam, the peasants of Venezuela may hate the guerrillas, but they will not expose them for fear of torture and death.

The discovery of 5 tons of armaments hidden in the San Antonio Del Gauche region of Venezuela this week follows a gun battle in the same area between military forces and guerrillas. A secret guerrilla headquarters of the FALN (National Liberation Armed Forces) was even uncovered in the petroleum center of Anzoatgull State.

#### TRAINING FOR GUERRILLAS

But if Castro and company have their way, this is but a foretaste of far worse to come. According to reliable reports reaching Washington, guerrilla training—once confined to Cuba itself—is going on in the Venezuelan States of Lara and Falcon. The guerrilla chieftain is a former Venezuelan newspaper man, Fabricio Ojeda.

The Venezuelan National Liberation Front believes in the formalities. It is officially represented in Cuba by German Layret, who recently went through the formality of signing a "mutual aid pact" with the Vietcong representative in Havana.

Castro's press and radio made much of this and openly boasted that the pact heralded the start of Vietnam-type wars, not just in Venezuela but in other parts of Latin America. Clearly, the Communist guerrillas, like their counterparts in Asia, are planning carefully and diabolically for the years ahead. Weapons and central direction are coming from Cuba and will continue to do so—as long as the United States permits this to go on.

The question is whether the United States can afford to look the other way while Cuba provides the transmission belt for weapons with which the Communists plan to subvert the hemisphere.

In Vietnam, we waited until almost the 11th hour before attempting seriously to interrupt outside sources of supply of men

and material. Isn't there a lesson to be learned from that tragedy? Or are we to be paralyzed into inaction by failing to take seriously Castro's threats of turning Latin America into a series of Vietnam's?

### One Woman Comments

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, in this time of domestic turmoil and international crisis, it is refreshing to hear some one speak with a calm sane voice. For this reason I have asked permission to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, my friend, Mrs. George L. Burr's column, "One Woman Comments," which appeared in the August 19, 1965, issue of the Winter Haven, Fla., Herald.

Josephine Burr, as she is known to her many friends and readers, gives sound advice that is worthy of the attention of readers of all ages—not just the young people entering college to whom these remarks were addressed. If more people lived Mrs. Burr's philosophy, this world would be a more stable and more wholesome place in which to live:

#### ONE WOMAN COMMENTS

(By Josephine G. Burr)

Let us forget the trials of the National Council of Churches this week while I write a letter to my granddaughter. She is only 6 and starting to school, but I am going to pretend that she is 18 and starting to college because I hope some college-bound boy or girl will read this and possibly think a bit more carefully when he gets to the campus.

DEAREST VICKIE: I know you are a bit fearful as you leave home this fall, for you are actually going out into the world alone for the first time. A college or university campus is a world of its own and a place where you will meet all kinds of people. You will either thoroughly enjoy your life there, as I did, or be heartsick because you did not realize your great opportunity to learn what life is all about. Life of today is much more complicated than it was for me 50 years ago, however, so I think maybe I can help if you will heed.

First you young folks are much more aware of what is going on in the world today than we were back in 1913. There are peculiar "isms" abroad in the land, wild-eyed terrorists, and some who believe communism will save the world from destruction. But there are also many good ideas, many fine thinkers. I hope you have absorbed from your problems class in high school or the course you took in communism that Florida high schools require, the dangers that lurk in these peculiar subversive minds. I am sure you read of the troubles the Berkeley, Calif., campus had last fall. Many people thought it all the fault of Communist off-campus folk who created this trouble. I think they had their part in it, but let's face it, there is unrest on every college campus today created by this changing world in which we find ourselves. The "Wave of the Future" that Ann Morrow Lindbergh wrote about back in the 1940's has overtaken us. Every nation, however small, is trying for the highest kind of freedom and to equal the good things that we here in America have enjoyed for so long. They hate us for having found them first, and since

this is the "land of the free and the home of the brave," they are trying to prove, in their strivings, that we are wrong and they are right. Revolution is in the air and the world is so rampant for freedom that we begin to wonder if we are as free as we have always taken for granted we were. Let us not waiver—ever—in our ideas of what freedom really is and how to keep it. That is what you young folks of today must work to preserve.

One thing I want to emphasize as you start your college career—please do your own thinking. You will doubt yourself at times and your ability to think right, but do not allow the thoughts of someone else to become yours unless you have spent hours trying to find out the truth about controversial subjects. You, Vickie, have been fortunate in growing up in a normal home. Many of the young people you will meet have warped minds because they were not so fortunate. Grief, money troubles, broken homes, liquor, can tear up lives and create so much unhappiness, especially in young people's minds, that they become unstable in their thinking and their emotions. Look into the background of those who seem different and try to discover why they are different—then feel sorry, be tolerant, but do your own thinking.

But we were discussing freedom. When I was in college no one questioned it. Since then we have helped France and England preserve their freedoms in World War I, then again in World War II when the madman, Hitler, tried to change things to his warped mind's way of thinking, we sent our young men to fight for freedom. Now the Russians, who realized they were being ruled by a mad king, cannot seem to be happy just changing their own world. They are being led by the ideologies of three other mad men, Karl Marx of Germany, Lenin, and Stalin. But something has happened in our own land of the free that is very frightening. We do not all seem to appreciate that our Founding Fathers planned well and there are too many Americans trying to change our world.

Two characteristic stand out in all this strife of today—hate and fear. They are not new—they ruled the German Kaiser, they definitely ruled Hitler, and today they rule all the odd people who think change is the only road to freedom. The one thing to me that will make you realize we have been and still are on the right track in America, will be your absorbing the education that you are about to undertake. However, you must keep your feet on the ground; you must believe, as you have been taught, that there is a God above us all who strives to help us; and that if you live by the Golden Rule, you cannot get off the right course for long. Education also means tolerance to me, Vickie, for all people are not made alike—everyone has his good points and his bad ones. Just be sure you can tell the difference and are not led by bigotry or mass thinking, but by your own careful estimation of what is the best course. I am sure you will know and if you become confused, pick out a person you love and trust and talk it all out.

One last admonition and to me it is very important. I want you to have fun and enjoy your college life as well as its opportunities, and the best way to do this is to join with a group of congenial folks in a Greek letter society. Today they are the last sure bulwark of Americanism on the college campus. They exist for the sake of friendship; they are governed by men and women who have been careful in their thinking. Their first loyalty is to God and country and they provide a "home away from home" where you can find folks reared as you were reared, girls and boys who think about life as you do and have been forewarned by parents and fraternity elders about the dangers of today. You will find folks you can talk to and discuss things with, but best of all, you will find real friends.

diminishes men's respect for it strikes at the very heart of orderly, democratic, and progressive living. This does not mean that all laws are either right or perfect. It does not mean that laws should not change and evolve. But it does mean that the security, health, and progress of men and of nations lies in a respect for law and a willingness to obey it.

In the last few days two prominent Americans have addressed themselves to this very question, but from sharply different viewpoints. Commenting on the Los Angeles riots, former President Eisenhower said, "I believe the United States as a whole has been becoming atmospherized \* \* \* in a policy of lawlessness. If we like a law, we obey it; if we don't, we are told: 'You can disobey it.'"

Also discussing the west coast rioting, New York Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY is quoted in an interview as saying that it was senseless to tell Negroes living in northern slums to obey the law, that to these Negroes the law is the enemy.

The Kennedy statement is deeply disturbing. Even granting the fact that many Negroes do in fact regard the law as their enemy, will the Kennedy statement do anything to change their view? Will it not, rather, give them the impression that influential national figures look with sympathy upon their breaking of the law? As a former Attorney General who had shown himself active in securing wider Negro protection under law, Senator KENNEDY is in a particularly favorable position to remind the Negro that the law is, in fact, his greatest safeguard. It is regrettable that this opportunity was missed.

We agree without reservation with President Eisenhower's statement: "I believe we must have greater respect for law. This means to me we must review our \* \* \* moral standards."

Great efforts are now being made nationally on behalf of the Negro. Greater efforts will doubtless be made in the future. While it is true that many of these efforts are belated, it is also true that they are being made because the American people as a whole believe in the reign of justice. And justice without law is an impossibility.

Only through support of law and justice can any American citizen, Negro or white, hope to live in peace and prosperity. Law is man's present highest concept of that higher, perfect order toward which human progress tends. It must be protected, honored, fostered, and obeyed.

## To Our Soldiers in Vietnam

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of the Jewish Veteran carries a front page editorial entitled, "To Our Soldiers in Vietnam."

This editorial, representing the official view of united Jewish war veterans, analyzes the role of Red China, not only in the "narrow confines" of the Vietnam struggle, "but also in the light of all its worldwide implications."

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I request that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD, and commend its careful reading to my colleagues:

## TO OUR SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM

The veterans community of the United States wants you to know that we stand four-square in support of your sacrifice in the cause of freedom. As citizens who have borne arms for this Nation before you, we realize full well the importance to your morale and fighting spirit the assurance that the whole country is fully aware of the nature of your mission and the vital importance of it.

At the heart of the American involvement in Vietnam is the confrontation of the growing power and influence of the world's most dangerous and irresponsible nation—Red China.

Debates are in progress about the American strategies and tactics in Vietnam, the rights and wrongs of our involvement, and the issue of escalation. These are questions which should rightfully be examined and discussed in the Congress and by the public.

But we must not lose sight of the basic motivation for the pending mobilization of Reserves and the expanded American commitment in southeast Asia.

Red China leaves us no alternative but a firm stand on every periphery of that restive aggressive goliath.

We do not intend to make a case for the Saigon leaders of South Vietnam as the most perfect and desirable exponents of freedom. We hope and pray that better leadership for our side can be found. In the long struggle, we cannot defeat communism except through the dynamic appeal of a better idea—the true ideology of freedom.

But in the larger picture, we are confronted with such a massive peril that the deficiencies of the Saigon regime are somewhat beside the main point. The basic issue at hand is the dedication of China, a nation whose population is three or four times as large as our own, to defeat and obliterate us. To them we are the mortal foe. They have served notice that they intend to crush us and our way of life.

Today, China has the atomic bomb. Crude though their weapon may be when compared with the supermegaton power in American hands, the fact remains that the least responsible regime on earth has the power to ignite a thermonuclear conflict. Millions of Chinese may be wiped out. But other nations could be involved in a holocaust which Russia might not be able to avoid despite its present differences with Chinese extremism.

## RED CHINA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Right now, China is seeking to gain her ends by exploiting so-called wars of national liberation. That is her role in the bloody, confused and unhappy affair in Vietnam. It also seems to be her objective elsewhere, even in the Near East where the Chinese are seeking among other goals, to foment Arab guerrilla violence against Israel to create a tactical diversion to Vietnamese conflict.

Let us also examine the role of Red China toward Israel. Peiping blackballed Israel back in the days of the Bandung Conference of Asian Nations, alleging that Israel was "an imperialist creature" and had no right to exist. Israel had previously recognized Red China diplomatically because, whether one likes it or not, Red China exists. But Peiping did not reciprocate and rejected a diplomatic exchange because her only thought of Israel was as a scapegoat to use in appealing for Arab sympathies.

Arab guerrilla attacks on Israel, if carried to lengths that would inflame the whole tense frontier problem, would spread, confuse, and intensify the world crisis. It would help the Vietcong by keeping American forces on the alert in the Mediterranean and Europe. The U.S. 6th Fleet, for instance, could not relinquish its marine components for duty in the Far East, if trouble were brewing in the Near East.

Such a move would also inflame the Arab masses to serve Chinese ends by intimidating Arab leaders into closer support of the Peiping line. China, instead of Russia would become the most militant activist and leading exponent of Arab fanaticism against Israel.

Peiping feels that an Arab-Israel war could diminish mounting American pressure in Vietnam, extricate China from a military showdown for the present, and provide more time for development of atomic weapons and delivery systems. Such strife is consistent with Chinese attempts to foment "anti-imperialist" disorder throughout southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Offers have already been made by China to the extremist "liberation front" of Palestinian Arab refugees. Headed by Arab agitator Ahmed Shukairy, an Arab delegation was welcomed to Peiping and promised money, weapons, and military training if they would launch a "liberation war" against Israel. China envisaged internal sabotage by Israel's Arab population, creation of an armed underground movement, bombings, sabotage, and infiltration raids from outside.

Mao Tse-tung told the Arabs that "an Algerian delegation told us once that Algeria lost a million lives in the guerrilla struggle for independence. I told them that peoples should not be frightened if their population decreases in the course of a liberation war, for they will enjoy a period of peace afterward in which they can again multiply."

Peiping considers it ridiculous that 45 million Arabs surrounding 2½ million Israelis do not crush the Jews with action and blood instead of mere words and promises as espoused by Egypt's Nasser and others.

Nasser and Shukairy are not quite ready for a "peoples' war" against Israel because they know that Israel has the power to hit back and that the United States might not stand idly by. Nasser fears that the Sinai zone might become another Danang, poised against Arab infiltration if the "masses" ever materialized on a Vietcong-type rampage.

Mao subsequently condemned Arab lack of militance as "bourgeois humanitarianism." They are "too preoccupied with survival," he charged. But he hopes eventually, inexorably, to enlist the Arabs in a Near Eastern escalation in keeping with the insidious and subversive Chinese strategies.

Therefore, when we support our Government and its actions in Vietnam we do so not only within the narrow confines of that area but also in the light of all its worldwide implications.

## Castro Threat Not So Empty

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, so far as the public is concerned, there seems to be no attention being paid to Castro and his regime in Cuba as constituting a threat to the Western Hemisphere.

I was glad to note the following article written by Marguerite Higgins which appeared in the Washington Star:

CASTRO THREAT NOT SO EMPTY

(By Marguerite Higgins)

Until recently, Johnson administration officials tended to shrug off Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's boasts of turning Latin American wars of liberation into Vietnam-type conflicts.

September 2, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

amount if its callable capital and subject to a provision of prior agreement before the Bank can sell bonds in that particular country.

Bank investments should be in projects which are economically and technically sound and capable of producing fairly rapid repayment. A small portion of the Bank's paid-in capital should be set aside for soft loan purposes.

## LENDING TERMS

The Asian countries are proposing that the bulk of the Bank's regular capital should be loaned on hard terms similar to those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The IBRD's terms are currently a unitary 5½ percent interest rate for all countries. Loans should be allowed maturities up to 30 years and grace periods varying normally up to 6 years, generally in relation to the economic situation in the country and the country's debt servicing capacity and the type of project. The consultative committee has proposed that soft loans from regular capital will be made only in special circumstances on terms similar to those of the International Development Association—IDA. The IDA's soft loan terms are currently three-fourths of 1 percent interest, 10-year grace, and a 50-year repayment. Applicants for soft loans with the lowest debt servicing prospects and limited access to substantial quantities of concessional assistance sources such as IDA, AID, and certain consortium members, will be given due account. Subject to the view of the members up to 10 percent of the total paid-in capital could be devoted to this soft window.

In addition to these soft loan terms provided by the Bank charter, the United States at the June meeting in Bangkok proposed that a Southeast Asian Regional Development Fund be established with the Bank bearing the responsibility for the selection of the projects and the administration of these funds which are held in trust. These funds distributed by the Bank would include \$100 million contributed by the United States, subject to congressional approval, and sufficient participation by other members to make the fund a truly multilateral operation. Contributions to the Fund could be tied to U.S. procurement and could be used for hard or soft loans or grants for projects of a regional or sub-regional character.

## MEMBERSHIP IN THE BANK

The United States favors full membership in the Bank for nonregional members of ECAFE. Ninety percent of the voting shares, in the view of the United States, should be distributed proportionately to the size of capital contributions. On this basis over 60 percent of the voting rights would still be vested in regional members. The group of nine experts suggested that the votes in the Bank should be weighted in proportion to the size of the country's subscription and that only the lower end of the 5 to 20 percent range should have votes distributed equally. This arrangement would give regional members over 60 percent of the total votes. Regional members include Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

## ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE BANK

The Board of Governors of the Bank should probably meet annually, make general policy, and delegate detailed policymaking and executive control to the Board of Executive Directors and the President who should be Asian. The best plan is felt to be that the Board should be made up of 10 members, 7 from the regional countries. It is anticipated, however, that a formula will be used in distributing Board positions which will enable the United States, as a substantial shareholder, to hold as a permanent seat one of the three places on the Board set aside for nonregional participants.

## LOCATION

In accord with the founding principle of a bank for Asians run by Asians, the Asian Development Bank will be located within the region. The United States is not interested in playing an active role in determining the choice of location of the Bank.

## RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BANK AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

It is felt that the Bank should certainly collaborate closely with the national development banks or institutions where this may assist in effective channeling the Bank's resources in the interests of economic development.

## PROBLEMS AND IMPLICATIONS

Although the national press has published comparatively little on the subject of the Asian Development Bank since President Johnson's April 7 speech in Baltimore, it has focused attention on some of the implications of the Bank proposal and potential problems.

There has been much speculation since April as to how the Congress would respond to the President's commitments to the Bank. To counteract this criticism it has been suggested that a delegation of Congressmen be brought into the active formation of the Bank to help quell opponents of the President's plan in Congress.

Other newspaper reports have conjectured that the U.S. offer to Russia to become a charter member of the Asian Bank is a device to intensify the split between Russia and Red China.

Finally, other observers point out that the administration is dangling the Bank on a string before North Vietnam, by implying that if hostilities should cease they too could participate in the institution. Hanoi has responded indicating that she saw this lure aspect clearly by calling the Bank, "President Johnson's rotten carrot."

Without arguing the merit or lack thereof of these and other implications and speculations, it is safe to say that the encouragement and support of such an institution is a dramatic step for our foreign policy in the Far East. It also marks a constructive and we believe preferable alternative to post-World War II American aid.

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## Adrian Daily Telegram Discusses Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, for over 80 years, the Adrian Daily Telegram, a newspaper located in my district, has been informing the citizens of Lenawee County, Mich., on the local, national, and international events which daily affect their lives.

A recent editorial in the Daily Telegram, entitled "How Much Security," discusses the history of the social security program, particularly the role which social security income and the medicare program play in the lives of the elderly of our Nation. The editorial is brief but uncommonly sound. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues. It follows:

[From the Adrian Daily Telegram, Aug. 23, 1965]

## How Much Security?

The social security measure adopted 30 years ago provided retirement income for 25 million workers. The ultimate goal was to provide retirement funds, as a matter of right, for all the Nation's aged. The 25 million figure seemed a good place to start, and at a reasonable scale.

The program has been expanded greatly since those days of the 1930's. Some 76 million Americans now are covered including professional people, farmers and businessmen. About 20 million already are receiving benefits, an average of \$80 a month. The maximum now is \$135.90 a month.

Next year the average monthly payment goes to \$149.90 a month. In 1971 the maximum rises to \$167.90 a month. Social security sweeteners have been enacted in each of the last 7 general election years, all of them calling for a greater expenditure of social

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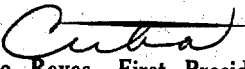
security funds and oftentimes also calling for higher social security payments.

Last month President Johnson signed the biggest sweetener of all, the medical care program for all persons over 65 years of age. It ended a two-decade struggle to obtain approval of such legislation. Again, the social security cost, both to employee and employer will be increased.

The social security program has been a great boon to the American people. It has helped people prepare for old age who might not be able to meet the demands of this period in life any other way. The medical care program, while it will be costly, will benefit many older people. A nest egg is easily wiped away in the twilight years during one long seige of illness.

Cost has a bearing on the operation of the social security system, of course. But the key to success or failure lies in deciding where security should end. Social security must not stifle ambition. It must not smother a willingness to work. It must not penalize aggressiveness. It must not undermine determination. It must not discourage the desire for independence.

It must not erect roadblocks to initiative. It should permit people to retire in dignity but it should not convert them into useless vegetables. Thank heavens, we are safe, so far.



**Manolo Reyes—First President of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami**

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. DANTE B. FASCELL**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

**Mr. FASCELL.** Mr. Speaker, Manolo Reyes, a prominent Cuban newsman now living in exile in Miami, Fla., was recently installed as the first president of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami.

The programs outlined by Mr. Reyes in his installation speech reflects a deep love of the country and a profound and abiding faith in the future of his brave land now swept by terror and tyranny.

**Mr. Speaker,** I commend Mr. Reyes' remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

Few have been the occasions in which a group of citizens from the United States and Cuba have gathered together for an event like the one taking place tonight: the official chartering of an association devoted to help and serve mankind, supported by Cuban exiles living in a land of liberty.

Consequently, this event of extraordinary importance, shows undoubtedly the gratitude of the people of a nation that have been treated like real brothers by the people and the Government of the United States. A brave and noble people that will not be bought, nor surrender, and are fighting to break the chains of communism, with the conviction that in their freedom they will bring also liberty for the entire American continent.

As president of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami, elected by the free and democratic vote of its members, I express to all and each one of the distinguished personalities of Latin America and to the Federal, State, and local authorities of the United States, the testimony of our deep gratitude for your presence in this act, which will encourage us to proceed on the long road ahead of us and which ratifies an old friendship, proving, now more than ever that we are not alone.

Why was the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami organized?

First of all, because of God's willingness; and second, because a group of Cuban and American citizens decided to create another way of helping humanity. This is a troubled world where although the word love is constantly repeated, we forget most of the time that only when serving mankind can we truly prove our love for our fellow beings.

Interpreting the way of thinking of the members of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami, I want to express our gratitude to four American citizens without whose cooperation this institution would not have been possible. They are: A. L. Plager, Steve Collinson, Charles Nelson and John D. Barfield.

Who should be members of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami?

Those who love their country distinguish themselves from others because they serve the cause of liberty without stopping to thank about the cost of sacrifice, while the others try to obtain something of personal interest with the least sacrifice.

The Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will be composed of the first kind of people. We reject the others.

A nation has two wrong types of citizens: Those who do not believe in their country, and those who express belief in their country but do not do anything for it.

The Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will accept those who want to work for the benefit of mankind, and for their own country, Cuba, which was not born to be enslaved.

For this reason, the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will be composed of exiles who have been forced to abandon Cuba because of communism, and who will pledge themselves to work in favor of all Cubans, those within the martyred island as well as those in exile, hoping to receive as their only reward: the right to serve humanity and the cause of liberty.

What are the plans of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami?

For approximately 7 years, the Cuban people have suffered in their flesh Communist oppression. Children growing today in what was once called the Pearl of the Antilles, are not Cubans; under the pressure of a frightful indoctrination they are being converted into youths without spiritual values; without Pan Americanism; and without true Cuban feelings. It is a Communist-inspired youth.

When Castro-communism is defeated, it will be necessary to save this youth, who have not seen the light of truth, and we have to prepare the ways and means so that they can learn a new idea, of which they are ignorant, the concept of liberty.

The future of nations depends on education. Liberty is obtained by breaking the chains of ignorance.

Therefore, the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami, a civic, nonpolitical and nonprofit association, having the basic understanding that education is freedom, proposes to study as many concrete plans as possible to help decommunize the people of Cuba, and especially the Cuban youth of today which is under the perverse influence of Marxist-Leninism.

In the meantime, we intend to help in every way we can the children of our country in exile, in order for them to learn the advantages of growing and studying in this country—the cradle of democracy—but at the same time to help them to maintain our traditions; our customs; our history; our Cuban way of life, until the moment they will be able to return to our country, once it is liberated from communism.

Many of them will be the future leaders of the new Cuba and must be prepared for that event.

Moreover, the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will spare no work or effort to act as one more bridge of friendship, understand-

ing and help between the people and the authorities of the United States or Latin America and the Cuban community in exile.

For all these purposes we invoke, now and forever, God's help, and the help of all the citizens of the free world, who, fortified by good faith and friendship, may wish to share the trials that we now suffer and our happiness once Cuba is freed from communism.

The Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami is one more means created to help gain the peace in a Cuba liberated from communism and to this effect we respectfully request from this moment on as many valid promises as possible to help the creation of a new Cuba, the pride of all Cubans and of a continent which is being redeemed from communism by a nation nailed to a cross of suffering in the middle of the Caribbean.

But, Cuba will never die. Yesterday it suffered the ailment of dictatorship. Today it suffers the epidemic of communism. But rising above the transitory illness that affect its health Cuba lives and will live forever.

And now, let's all get to work.

#### State Technical Services Act of 1965

#### SPEECH

OF

**HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3420) to promote economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise.

**Mr. MATHIAS.** Mr. Chairman, this bill would initiate the first comprehensive effort to make the tremendous benefits of national research activities available to American business, commerce, and industry throughout the country. This would be an effort beneficial to many localities, to American enterprise and to the whole American economy.

This is in the best sense a cooperative, grassroots program. It encourages States to mobilize their industries and institutions to make full technico-economic surveys and to formulate long-range economic plans. Many agencies in my own State of Maryland are already engaged in such planning, and this legislation would further those efforts and help other States to begin similar projects. The planning aspects of this bill could also have many "spin-off" effects in promoting increased cooperation among industries and institutions on innumerable local tasks.

The programs developed on the basis of such preliminary planning will be pinpointed to meet the problems of free enterprise within each State. The types of technical assistance which can be utilized are limited only by the perception and imagination of the committees involved. Through technical advice, through seminars and discussions, through the dissemination of information, local industries will be lifted into enhanced competitive positions as they begin to take full advantage of the technological advances of recent years.



There is every reason for believing, however, that, to the extent that the Castro Communists and Peiping Communists have influence in the American Negro community, their followers are encouraged to foment unrest, to take part in Negro riots and uprisings, to seek to provide them with leadership and direction, and to seek to extend the area of hostilities.

So, while the broadcasts of Radio Dixie may not reach as far as Chicago and Los Angeles, it would be a fair conclusion that the contents of these broadcasts coincide with the guidelines laid down by the Castro agents in this country for their followers in the American Negro community. There may not be many American Negroes who follow the Castro-Peiping line. I doubt that there are as many as 1,000, and I think the number would be nearer several hundred. But in an inflammatory situation a handful of trained agitators, committed to violence and arson, can do an awful lot of damage.

It is a matter of record that Communist cadres undergo systematic training in the techniques of organizing riots and breaking through police lines. There is even a Communist handbook on the subject which has been distributed in many languages.

It is a matter of record, too, that, quite apart from providing leadership in riot situations, a handful of Communists in key positions can suffice to take over an entire country—as they did in Cuba, as they did in the Brazzaville, Congo, as they did in Zanzibar, and as they recently almost succeeded in doing in the Dominican Republic.

So let no one minimize the capacity for mischief of a handful of Communists. And let no one minimize the danger inherent in the fact that, in every major metropolitan center in the United States, there exists at least a handful of Communist extremists committed to the Castro-Peiping line.

Patterns of Communist activity are difficult to pin down, especially in riot situations. But I do read some significance into the fact that apparently some of the rioters made their first targets the gunshops and pawnshops in the Watts area and that not only did they succeed in escaping with many hundreds of weapons, but they systematically set the torch to all gunshops they had looted so that even the owners could not know how many guns were stolen and how many destroyed. The rioters also made prime targets of drugstores for the purpose of obtaining narcotics, and of liquor stores.

There is, therefore, some serious reason for believing that Castro had a hand, or at least a finger, in the Los Angeles riots, and that we may anticipate more trouble from this source over the coming period.

I don't mean to imply that if there were no Castro-Communist influence in the American Negro community, there would have been no Los Angeles riots. This would be a gross oversimplification.

In order to effectively eliminate the danger of racial explosions like Los Angeles, we will have to eliminate the so-

cial conditions that breed frustration and anger and hatred among our Negro citizens.

We will have to eliminate the Negro ghettos.

We will have to conquer the serious residue of discrimination that still exists in our society.

We will have to achieve the goal that the administration has set for our Nation—the goal of a society free from every form of religious and racial discrimination, where every citizen not only enjoys complete political equality, but complete social equality and equality of opportunity as well.

But let us have no illusions. These goals are not going to be achieved overnight, even with the best of intentions and the most energetic programs.

During the period of readjustment to the American society of the future, it is my hope that our Negro citizens will continue to follow the lead of the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement, who have repeatedly warned them against the dangers of violence.

It is my hope that, with the help of these leaders, they will be able to discipline their more unruly members, and expose, and isolate the agents of Castro and Mao Tse-tung, who urge the American Negroes to emulate Los Angeles and pursue the fatal path of violence.

#### FEEDING THE HUNGRY WITH U.S. FARM SURPLUSES

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, ever since he served as Director of the food-for-peace program, my distinguished colleague, GEORGE MCGOVERN, has been America's leader in urging us to undertake a more comprehensive, worldwide "war against want." He has seen, as clearly as any man alive, the appalling contradiction between a world where millions starve and a United States where we seek to cut down our food production. He has introduced ambitious new legislation designed to make possible a much larger, more effective American program to use our agricultural bounty to feed the hungry of the world.

In the Newark Sunday News of August 29, there appeared a United Press article which highlights the problem of world hunger and Senator MCGOVERN's role in opening America's eyes to it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article, "Senator Would Feed Hungry With U.S. Farm Surpluses," be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### SENATOR WOULD FEED HUNGRY WITH U.S. FARM SURPLUSES

WASHINGTON.—For years, a bountiful America has struggled—and spent millions—to control its farm surpluses.

Now a farm State Senator wants an about-face which would let farmers grow more food on more land and would distribute more of it to the world's hungry millions.

Led by Senator GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, Democrat, of South Dakota, a group of Midwestern Democrats in Congress contend it is neither sensible nor moral for the United States to follow a program of sharply cur-

tailed food production when everyday half a billion people go to bed hungry.

And they warn that strict Federal controls have reduced the Nation's food stockpiles to such a low point, that there are not enough of some of basic commodities to maintain a 6-month reserve for home consumption.

#### ADMIT PROBLEMS

They admit that the problems in their plan could be many and complicated. But they argue that the results would be good for American farmers as well as for international relations. They believe President Johnson agrees.

The roots of the food-for-peace (FFP) program lie in a 1954 law which provides for the distribution of surplus U.S. crops to have-not nations. The food may be given, bartered, sold for the currency of the receiving nation, or bought through a 40-year American loan plan.

In 1961 the program was designated food for peace, with MCGOVERN as its first director. But he found his office carried little authority. He resigned in 1962 to run for the Senate. But his 18-month exposure to FFP left its mark.

On one side of the world he had seen mass graves of those who had starved to death; children whose gaunt limbs and distended stomachs testified to their hunger, and some blind from lack of proper nourishment.

At home were millions of acres taken out of production in a continuing battle against too much food, even while farmers declared that their private economic depression could eventually engulf the cities.

#### BILL LACKING

President Johnson suggested in his farm message to Congress establishment of strategic reserves of food but he submitted no bill to accomplish this.

Representative CLAIR A. CALLAN, Democrat, of Nebraska, did so June 3 with a measure which called for reserves of food equal to half a year's requirements.

Under his proposal, for example, 600 million bushels of wheat would be kept on hand. That would leave only 41 millions for distribution abroad.

Two weeks later MCGOVERN submitted to the Senate an International Food and Nutrition Act of 1965. It would authorize an additional \$500 million of foods of all kinds, not merely those now surplus, for distribution to hungry nations.

The program would be increased at the rate of \$500 million a year until it reached \$3.5 billion in 10 years.

#### FULBRIGHT BILL

His bill went to the Foreign Relations Committee whose chairman, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, has indicated he believes FFP should be stepped up from the mere dumping of surplus foods to providing the vitamins and proteins which hungry children require.

Support for his plan was forthcoming.

Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY promised whatever help he could give. Senator WALTER F. MONDALE, Democrat, of Minnesota, claimed that MCGOVERN's plan would work for this country's own interests.

"For every 10 percent the less developed countries increase their income level, they expand their dollar purchases of our farm products by 16 percent," he said. "Italy, Japan, and Nationalist China have moved from the status of food aid recipients to major dollar customers for our farm exports."

But some Members of Congress doubt that MCGOVERN's proposal would do the job.

#### NO FORMULA

Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, said attempts have been made in the past to feed the world's hungry but that no workable formula ever was devised.



September 2, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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forestry education which investigates the institutions offering professional training in forestry. The committee evaluates the status of each institution's forestry program, the size, duties, and qualifications of the faculty, the library and laboratory facilities, and other factors. Institutions that meet the society's high standards for professional training are placed on an accredited list. At the present time the list of accredited forestry schools in the United States are:

Auburn University, Department of Forestry, Auburn, Ala.  
University of California, School of Forestry, Berkeley, Calif.  
Clemson University, Department of Forestry, Clemson, S.C.  
Colorado State University, College of Forestry and Range Management, Fort Collins, Colo.  
Duke University, School of Forestry, Durham, N.C. (graduate).  
University of Florida, School of Forestry, Gainesville, Fla.  
University of Georgia, School of Forestry, Athens, Ga.  
University of Idaho, College of Forestry, Moscow, Idaho.  
University of Illinois, Department of Forestry, Urbana, Ill.  
Iowa State University, Department of Forestry, Ames, Iowa.  
Louisiana State University, School of Forestry and Wildlife Management, Baton Rouge, La.  
University of Maine, School of Forestry, Orono, Maine.  
University of Massachusetts, Department of Forestry and Wildlife Management, Amherst, Mass.  
Michigan State University, Department of Forestry, East Lansing, Mich.  
The University of Michigan, School of Natural Resources, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
University of Minnesota, School of Forestry, St. Paul, Minn.  
University of Missouri, School of Forestry, Columbia, Mo.  
Montana State University, School of Forestry, Missoula, Mont.  
University of New Hampshire, Department of Forestry, Durham, N.H.  
North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina, School of Forestry, Raleigh, N.C.  
Oregon State University, School of Forestry, Corvallis, Ore.

#### HOUSTON POST COMMENDS SENATOR KENNEDY FOR PLACING FOREIGN AID IN PERSPECTIVE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, out of the sound and fury of political propagandizing, it is often difficult for one to maintain the proper perspective. However, once in a while a speech or editorial cuts through the fog like a sharp ray of sunlight.

Such a service was rendered to the Senate a few months ago by the distinguished junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] during debate on the foreign aid bill. He pointed out that whereas in 1950 the United States was spending 10 percent of the Federal budget and almost 2 percent of our gross national product on foreign aid, today, although we are still spending approximately the same \$3 billion a year, we are allocating only 3 percent of the Federal budget or one-half of 1 percent of our gross national product to foreign aid. As Mr. KENNEDY pointed out, in 1965 we are putting only approximately one-third the effort into foreign aid that we did 15 years ago.

As the Houston Post noted in an excellent editorial, this observation really puts our present foreign aid program into perspective. I commend the Senator from New York on his excellent speech, and the Houston Post on picking up that speech and making it the heart of an excellent editorial.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial "Foreign Aid Put in Perspective" published in the Houston Post of June 20, 1965, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Post, June 20, 1965]

#### FOREIGN AID PUT IN PERSPECTIVE

One of the favorite tactics of critics of the U.S. foreign aid program is to toss figures around without relating them to anything meaningful.

To most people, a billion dollars is a horrendous figure beyond the capacity of their imaginations, and they cannot relate it to anything concrete in their experience. Taking advantage of this, foreign aid critics like to cite the huge sum that the program has cost this country since it was started following World War II. While picturing it as charity, they try to create the impression that it is a tremendous burden that the American people cannot afford.

For that reason Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York made a point during Senate debate on the pending foreign aid measure that deserves more attention than it is likely to receive.

He pointed out that 15 years ago, in 1950, the United States was contributing a sum equal to 10 percent of the Federal budget and almost 2 percent of the Nation's gross national product to economic development in the rest of the world.

Today, this spending amounts to only 3 percent of the Federal budget and one-half of 1 percent of the gross national product.

In other words, the U.S. Government today is making less than one-third the effort it was making in this area 15 years ago.

Because of change in the situations of many countries that have received help in the past and an increased ability on their part to stand on their own feet, it has been possible to curtail annual aid expenditures. This alone is eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of the program.

The approximately \$3 billion a year that still is being spent on foreign aid may seem like a very large sum when it is used as an isolated figure, and it is large, of course. A billion of anything is quite a lot numerically. But the cost of the program has to be related to other relevant figures to be meaningful, and when it is, the foreign aid expenditure seems very much smaller.

Senator KENNEDY and some others are asking whether or not, in light of the great needs of the people of the world and this country's vastly increased responsibilities, we are spending as much on foreign aid today as we should.

Senator JOSEPH CLARK of Pennsylvania said in the Senate discussion that the United States should be thinking about a \$10 billion program of economic aid, in addition to military aid, instead of concentrating on how to reduce present appropriations.

Those who are opposed to any foreign aid will dismiss all this as a liberal point of view and therefore not worthy of consideration. But, assuming that the program is managed intelligently and efficiently and conducted in such a way that it truly serves the national interest, the question raised is one that Americans of conscience should not ignore.

In any event, Senator KENNEDY did something that badly needed to be done. He

helped place the present allocation for foreign aid in proper perspective.

#### CASTRO INCITES AMERICAN NEGROES TO VIOLENCE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I know that all of us were horrified by the unspeakable savagery and the senseless destruction that characterized the recent riots in Los Angeles. And I for one wholeheartedly endorse the warning issued by President Lyndon B. Johnson that such violence cannot advance the cause of civil rights, but will, on the contrary, only retard it.

I do not mean to minimize the suffering or injustices or frustration which helped to make Los Angeles and Chicago riots possible. However, I want to point out that such violence runs counter to the entire tradition of the American Negro and counter to the teachings of the legitimate civil rights movement.

A new element has been added to the situation in American Negro communities which makes them more riot-prone. This new element is the existence of organized extremist groups, preaching hatred, and committed to acts of violence. In addition to the Black Muslims, there are some hundreds of Negroes who are members of the Communist Party, or of the pro-Peiping Progressive Party, and there are other groups like the Deacons scattered around the country.

The broadcasts of the renegade American Negro Robert F. Williams, over Castro's Radio Dixie, constitute an open, crude, and brutal incitation to violence. They are now encouraging all American Negroes to follow the example of Los Angeles and to carry it further.

To give you an idea of the inflammatory nature of these broadcasts, I want to quote a few paragraphs from Robert F. Williams' broadcast of August 21 over Radio Dixie:

Yes; Los Angeles, Los Angeles. The glorious spirit of our brutally dehumanized people of the ghetto has restored our self-respect, our human dignity. Los Angeles is a warning to oppressive racists who said, they can no longer enjoy immunity from retribution for their brutal crimes of violence and oppression of our people.

My brothers and sisters, times are critical. They are going to become ever more critical. We are facing a future wherein the streets shall become like rivers of blood. Let us be prepared to fight to the death, organize, arm, learn to shoot and to handle explosives. When the impending showdown comes, use the match and the torch unsparingly. The flame of retribution must not be limited to urban buildings and centers, but the countryside must go up in smoke also. Remember the forests, the fields, and the crops. Remember the pipelines and oil storage tanks. Yes, let it be known to the world that we shall meet their sophisticated weapons of violence with the crude and simple flame of a match. We cannot escape our historical mission of destiny any more than our oppressors can escape the destiny of retribution.

I am informed that Radio Dixie broadcasts over only a limited area of the country—as far west as Texas and as far north as Virginia. It would be an exaggeration, therefore, to state that these broadcasts were directly responsible for the Los Angeles riots.

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emergency teaching certificate by the State which will allow them to take full-time positions immediately. They will take required education subjects and courses in Spanish literature over a 2-year period.

According to Dr. James E. Williams, director of the master of arts in teaching program and the special institute for the refugees, approximately 10 of the Cubans have already had interviews arranged for them with school superintendents in Bergen and Hudson Counties. The others will also be interviewed for teaching positions this summer.

In addition to the master of arts in teaching program work, the refugees will receive special instruction in the history of American public schools, English as a foreign language (all 26 speak English to varying degrees of competency), and comparative culture and literature of Cuba and the United States.

#### LIVE IN TEANECK

The refugees will live in dormitories on the Teaneck campus until September. After they obtain full-time teaching jobs, their families will join them.

Dr. Cancio-Bella, who said he is a personal friend of Batista's, was, at various times during a 7-year period, Ambassador to Panama, Costa Rica, Peru, Uruguay, and Chile. He is as fluent in French as in Spanish, having studied at the University of Lyon in France. He may end up teaching French and Spanish in some North Jersey high school.

All the refugees were picked by Dr. Williams and his staff during interviews in Miami this spring. Approximately 150 persons were considered.

Raul E. Mendiguita was a civil judge in Sancti-Spiritus, Cuba, for 25 years before leaving for exile in the United States. When he was interviewed in Miami, Mendiguita was working in a tomato-packing plant.

Another former government official among the group is Andres Suarez. He was in the Ministry of Education during Batista's tenure and joined the Castro regime as assistant secretary in the Ministry of the Treasury from January 1, 1959 to October 1960. He became disillusioned with Castro and fled to Miami by plane in the fall of 1960. He said he has been doing some freelance writing in Miami.

Mrs. Olga C. Fuentes, who assisted a professor of physiology and genetics in the University of Havana, has good reason to remember the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. Her husband was among those who landed on the beach. He was captured, she said, and later exchanged. He works now in Miami and will join her when she becomes a teacher in September.

These four refugees are not optimistic about returning to Cuba, and they doubt they would go back now if they could. The main reason for their reluctance is the younger generation. They all have children and the children are thoroughly Americanized.

Suarez said he was interested in obtaining American citizenship. He said he thinks his children would find Cuba a strange country if they returned.

Dr. Cancio-Bello has one son studying to be a doctor at the University of Miami and another son preparing for a career in chemical engineering. He also has a 13-year-old daughter. Because his daughter talks only English now, Dr. Cancio-Bello said, he decided to give her lessons in Spanish grammar. He taught her Spanish 1 hour a day for 6 months.

"I'm 54 years old now," Dr. Cancio-Bello said. "I don't think I could begin again in Cuba." He also believes Castro is going to be around awhile. When Castro does topple from power, there will be violent times in Cuba, Dr. Cancio-Bello predicted.

For the first 10 days of the institute, the refugees will meet periodically during the day with five recent American college grad-

uates, some of who are also enrolled in the master of arts in teaching program.

Their job is to help orient the group to new surrounding and to correct the refugees' English. Also, the refugees will be taking some field trips. Tomorrow they will tour Englewood Junior High School; later in the week they visit the Madison campus of FDU.

### Foreign Aid: Partnership of Industrialized Nations

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

- HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, an article in the March issue of the Reader's Digest praises foreign aid efforts to help the "have not" countries and points out that foreign aid is no longer a U.S. monopoly but a partnership of industrialized nations which realize that the peoples of the world must be responsible for each other if the free world is to survive.

Two-thirds of the world's population live in the less-developed countries—many of which are newly independent nations that must span centuries of political, social, and industrial development in a few short years. Some of us may have the impression that only the United States is meeting this challenge through foreign assistance. But this no longer so. Although at one time the United States was the only country giving major aid, today we are one of many nations who feel they have an immense stake in the process of development in these countries. Seventeen other free world nations now contribute substantial foreign assistance to the developing nations. Total free world aid amounted to \$8.1 billion in 1963, the last year for which figures are available.

As David E. Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development, pointed out before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently:

U.S. bilateral assistance, including Public Law 480 and other economic aid, totals about .64 percent of our gross national product. The bilateral aid programs of other donors total slightly less—.60 percent of combined gross national product. But U.S. gross national product per capita is almost 3 times that of other donor countries. From this point of view, the relative burden on the citizens of other donor nations is higher.

The United States has been a major force behind the increased foreign assistance efforts of other donor countries and we have been pleased with their response. Bilateral aid commitments of the developed countries increased by 50 percent from 1960 to 1963 and for the first time U.S. bilateral aid, including Public Law 480, was less than half the aid to the developing countries. The U.S. share of multilateral resources now ranges from 30 percent of World Bank subscriptions to 43 percent of the ordinary capital of the IDB, while other nations' contributions range from 44 percent of World Bank subscriptions to 100

percent of the European Economic Community aid programs.

There is every evidence that other donor countries will continue to increase their share. Canada has begun a new \$50 million loan program in addition to their existing aid programs. The Netherlands recently announced a 20 percent increase in aid. Loan terms are beginning to ease in order to hasten development without imposing prohibitive debt burdens on recipient nations. The British have decreased their average interest rates and West Germany has liberalized its loan maturities. The new Canadian program will include significantly more liberal terms than those provided by the United States.

There is no doubt of the commitment of other nations to helping to better the lot of the masses of people in the world who live in poverty and ignorance. The magnitude of this human condition, the increasing political responsibilities placed upon the developing nations in international affairs, and the multiplying threat of communism to the independence of their governments makes it mandatory that the United States and other advanced countries continue to restate their commitment.

In this context, I would like to call attention to the Reader's Digest article which gives an excellent account of what other countries are accomplishing by their commendable foreign assistance programs:

#### HANDS ACROSS MANY SEAS

(By James Daniel)

(NOTE.—Foreign aid to have-not nations is no longer a U.S. monopoly. A progress report on nation-to-nation help.)

In Guinea, a 600-mile-long aqueduct is being built to bring pure mountain water to the crowded capital city of Conakry. In Thailand, a dam under construction will provide 25,000 kilowatts of electricity for homes and industries, besides irrigating thousands of acres of badly needed farmland. In Pakistan, buses are rolling through ancient streets where for centuries the pace has been set by bullock carts. In Tanganyika, a recently completed railroad line is opening up the fertile Kilombero Valley to new sugar plantations.

All these represent foreign aid at work—but not U.S. foreign aid. This may surprise many Americans who have come to think that the United States is alone in giving economic assistance to other countries. The fact is that many nations are helping other countries. More than \$6 billion a year is now distributed in government grants and loans from industrialized nations of the free world to less developed countries. Of this, 38 percent is contributed by countries other than the United States.

On a proportional basis, several countries have equaled or surpassed the United States in economic assistance. France, for example, in 1963 extended \$1.074 billion in total foreign aid (i.e., official governmental aid plus private investment). This effort was one-fourth as large as the U.S. performance, though France's production is only one-eighth as great. In the same year Portugal, a far poorer country than France, devoted a record 1.89 percent of her gross national product to official aid alone. Even Belgium was ahead of the United States, proportionally.

None of this implies that we ought to enter a foreign-aid competition; nor does it minimize the burden the United States has carried and still carries. On the loan side of

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foreign aid, the United States is still the largest source of easy credit, annually lending more than \$1 billion, much of it at token interest rates of less than 1 percent. (Other countries have usually priced their loans at 3 to 6 percent, or even higher.) Furthermore, the United States devotes 9.4 percent of its gross national product to the military defense of the free world, as compared to 4.7 percent for its allies.

Many of America's allies, however, have their full share of dramatic projects. Canada, for example, has built and helped finance the \$36 million Warsak Hydroelectric and irrigation development on Pakistan's Kabul River, near the historic Khyber Pass. At present, Canadians have 75 major projects underway around the world.

French railroad engineers undertook the modernization of India's electrical railways. Besides designing the new system, training the Indian supervisors, mechanics, and conductors, France built one-third of the locomotives and some of the other equipment. Crack management teams borrowed from the French railway system saw the initial project through to completion in 3 years—half the estimated time for a comparable project in Europe. And the work still continues.

Just a decade ago, West Germany was on the receiving end of economic assistance; now she is giving it, to more than 90 nations. A few examples of German aid: an improved telephone system for South Korea, construction of three irrigation dams in Tunisia, expansion of port facilities in Ceylon.

One of the causes behind the upsurge in free-world aid is the economic boom in Western European and North American countries and Japan. These nations have discovered that foreign-aid missions often stimulate more sophisticated wants in emerging nations, requiring greater imports from the industrialized countries. Also, with aid programs former colonial powers maintain their presence in ex-colonies.

Another cause: late in the 1950's Washington candidly told European allies that the time had come for them to spread some of their Marshall plan-stimulated prosperity around among the poorer nations of Asia, Africa, and South America. Besides genuine concern over the political and social dangers inherent in the widening gap between haves and have-nots, Washington was worried over the nagging imbalance in this country's international payments.

To put steel in the U.S. request, Washington required that official economic-aid dollars henceforth be "tied" to purchases in the United States. This curtailed the use, by aid-receiving countries, of U.S. gift money to purchase commercial products from other industrialized countries. The latter, then, were compelled to increase their own aid substantially to keep up their trade.

One healthy upshot of the U.S. cajoling occurred in 1961, when Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United States formed the Development Assistance Committee within the framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Norway joined in 1962, Denmark in 1963. DAC's goals, besides persuading rich countries to export more capital to poor ones, include urging members to avoid wasting aid on unproductive projects, encouraging private investment, and making sure that underdeveloped countries are not loaded with more debt than they can carry.

DAC's approach to foreign aid is low keyed and levelheaded. DAC officials say that aid is useless unless a receiving country has trained people, a stable government, and a social system conducive to working hard and getting ahead. In particular DAC abhors prestige projects designed to flatter local rulers, such as steel mills without ore or customers, or cold-war ploys based on the idea that if the free world doesn't give

country X's dictator a dam the Communists will.

The overall philosophy is summed up in two statements. One was by Thorkil Kristensen, economist and former Finance Minister of Denmark, who serves as OECD's Secretary General. "Many of the mistakes in foreign aid," he told me, "have come from trying to do the photographable things first without the necessary advance preparation." The other statement was from Willard Thorp, professor of economics at Amherst College, serving as chairman of DAC. After noting that certain emerging countries' rulers put the attainment or enjoyment of office or the pursuit of more territory ahead of economic betterment, Thorp said, "At the outset, for many of these countries, the most useful thing you could do was to increase their total number of college graduates from 5 to 10."

In line with the emphasis upon people ahead of plans and money, some of America's allies are quietly pushing educational programs. For example, in addition to 1,000 scholarship students from former French colonies attending French universities, each year 3,500 stagiaires, or on-the-job trainees, are brought to study and work in France, in scores of occupations ranging from radio broadcasting to lighthouse maintenance. An important objective is to inculcate new methods, work habits, and attitudes, which the trainees, on returning home, can pass along as a way of leavening the apathy of their people.

One of these stagiaires is Gérard Jérôme Nana, a 22-year-old Camerounian, whom I interviewed at the Renault auto works near Paris. With five other articulate young Africans, Gérard was putting in a 9-hour day of work and study at the plant, taking extra Saturday courses, and often devoting his holidays to working as a mechanic in garages around Paris for extra cash. Daily contact with a modern industrial society had given Gérard an apostle's zeal.

"Take just the matter of getting to work on time," he told me. "In my country if the French boss says, 'Everybody be on time tomorrow so we can get the job done,' the employees say, 'See, our ex-colonial masters are still trying to exploit us.' If they only understood that one man's being late can cut the output of an entire factory, what a difference it could make."

Since the United States began pushing for more shoulders to the wheel, 16 other countries have instituted or strengthened aid programs. As a rough guide, the United Nations suggests that every "have" country should devote at least 1 percent of its gross national product to economic development in the "have not" countries, in whatever mix of public and private investment it chooses. Some of the latest percentages of government aid among DAC members: Portugal, 1.89; France, 1.57; Belgium, 0.76; United States, 0.72.

It is clear that equality of effort among the industrialized countries is still a far-off goal. William S. Gaud, Deputy Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, said in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "The mere fact that other industrialized countries are contributing more aid each year does not answer the question of whether they are doing enough."

In sum, the United States, having expended more than \$100 billion on foreign aid since World War II, would like to see even more participation by its allies. It would like them to share the philosophy typified by Albert Bougeant—a participant in Volunteers for Progress, the French peace corps—who is donating 2 years of his life to a primitive village in steaming equatorial Africa. "In this world," Bougeant says, "I believe that we are all a little bit responsible for one another."

## Burundi's Independence Day

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the third anniversary of the independence of the Kingdom of Burundi. We wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Majesty Mwami Mwambutsa IV; and the Burundi Ambassador to the United States, Leon Ndenzako.

The Kingdom of Burundi is a small country in central Africa which has recently received attention from the American press. In view of the importance of contemporary events, we should give attention here to the history and political background of this recently independent state.

Burundi was among the last African states to come under European influence. Its first visitor from Europe was John Hanning Speke, who in 1858 traveled through Burundi in his search for the headwaters of the Nile. In 1871, Stanley and Livingstone arrived there and explored the region near the present port-capital of Usumbura, on Lake Tanganyika. In 1885, the German sphere of influence in Africa was extended to include the territory of Burundi. Although the Germans remained there until 1916, the government remained in the hands of the traditional authorities.

During the First World War, Burundi was occupied by Belgian troops; after the war, the territory was awarded to the latter as a mandate of the League of Nations. This status remained unchanged until after World War II, when Burundi, with its neighbor to the north, Rwanda, was made part of a United Nations trust territory under Belgian administration. Throughout the period of Belgian control, the traditional authorities also retained their positions. During the latter years, however, the Belgians sponsored an extensive economic development program.

By 1961, the people of Burundi had demonstrated their political maturity and responsibility by holding peaceful national elections.

Plans for independence were completed; with neither a political revolution nor a social upheaval, Burundi became a self-governing State, ruled as of old by the King, or Mwami, and his advisers. The Government, however, was now patterned on Western constitutional democracies rather than on old tribal organizations. On the 1st of July, 1962, the territory of Urundi became the independent kingdom of Burundi.

Today Burundi, under the leadership of its King, Mwambutsa IV, finds itself in a difficult political and economic situation. Improvements in medicine and sanitation have created a serious threat of overpopulation in the small country; this situation has been made more serious by the considerable influx of refugees from neighboring countries.

June 9, 1965

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part of the State mental health plan which it submits to the Public Health Service annually under title III of the Public Health Service Act.

Section 4(c) provides that the Secretary may approve any State plan which conforms substantially with section 4(a), and may not disapprove any plan without reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

Section 5(a) provides for the form and content of specific applications for grants pursuant to approved State plans, and allows joint applications by States, subdivisions, and private nonprofit organizations working on joint projects. Requires that the application shall describe the site, the project plan, and shall contain various assurances.

Section 5(b) provides that the Secretary may approve any specific application filed under section 105(a) if it conforms to the regulations and State plan.

Section 6 allows grants to be in advance or by way of reimbursement and in such installments and on such conditions as the Secretary finds necessary. Provides further that amounts paid are limited to two-thirds of the construction cost.

Section 7 provides for cutoff of funds by the Secretary when he finds that a State agency is not living up to the terms of the grant.

Section 8 provides for appropriate recovery by the United States if, within 20 years, the facility is sold to any nonprofit organization or ceases to be used for the purpose for which it was constructed.

Section 9 provides judicial review in the courts of appeals for dissatisfied States.

Section 10 authorizes the Secretary to appoint committees as he deems it necessary.

Section 11 defines terms. Drug abuser is defined broadly, to insure inclusion of those who use barbiturates, amphetamines, and other dangerous drugs, as well as the opiates. "Facilities" are defined as "buildings or other facilities which are operated for the primary purpose of assisting in the treatment and rehabilitation of drug abusers by providing, under competent professional supervision, detoxification or other medical treatment, physical therapy, family counseling, psychotherapy, vocational services, help in finding employment, or other services." "Facilities" include facilities for medical care, laboratories, community clinics, halfway houses, sheltered workshops. "Construction" includes not only any new building but also acquisition, expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings, and payment of architect's fees. "Construction" specifically does not include the cost of offsite improvements and acquisitions of land.

#### PROMOTING THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

(Mr. WALKER of Mississippi asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, it is most gratifying to me to see the election of two Republican mayors and several aldermen and councilmen in Mississippi. I am grateful to every candidate who gave his time and his energies to promote better local government in our State through the two-party system. These candidates have made a great contribution for the benefit of the people of Mississippi by offering them a distinct choice in solving the problems of local government.

As a latecomer to the Republican Party, I can speak from experience. It

is hard to make a complete change in your political party after a hundred years of family tradition. But, as time goes on, and as more and more Republican candidates are elected to office, we will certainly see a greater number of citizens openly favoring the Republican Party and the principle of two-party government.

The entire principle of the two-party system is that the party of the minority assumes the responsibility of keeping elected officials in check. This, to me, is the only way we can be assured of having an honest and upright government. The results of yesterday's elections in Mississippi represent further proof that the two-party system in my State, as well as the entire South, is here to stay. I am most happy to extend my heartiest congratulations to these successful Republican candidates, and to offer assistance in any way that I can.

Since 1963, the Republican Party and the two-party system have been making strong gains. The first Republican State representative since Reconstruction was elected in Meridian, Miss., in 1963 and the Republican candidate for Governor polled nearly 40 percent of the vote.

Since that time, our State has elected a Republican Congressman, several Republican State legislators, and a Republican coroner in the State's largest city. Now, with the 1965 municipal elections the two party system made a historic strike at the grassroots level. Elected for mayor in Hattiesburg, Miss., was Paul E. Grady, a young conservative attorney, and in Columbus, Mr. R. D. Hammond, a former city councilman and Democrat turned Republican was elected as mayor.

Other local officials who won election on the Republican ticket were: Mr. H. F. McCarty, Jr., of Magee, Mr. M. L. Brown and Mr. Pat Millis of D'Lo, Mr. Dorsey Hill and Mr. H. T. Miller, Jr., of Drew, and Mr. Lloyd Kilpatrick of Hollandale.

We are particularly pleased with the mayors vote in Hattiesburg and Columbus, two of Mississippi's largest cities. It is predicted that these victories will have a tremendous impact on our State and pave the way for further victory increases in county as well as statewide elections.

We feel that this is a stepping stone toward electing conservative Republicans in all future municipal elections. It has been claimed by many liberals over the Nation that the conservative Republican movement in the South has made its gains strictly on the race issue. This is not at all the case. I am pleased to report that these campaigns in Mississippi were strictly decided on the issue of conservative Republicans versus Democrats, and in no incident was the race issue used in the campaign.

#### COMMUNIST CUBA TRIES TO EXPAND U.N. INFLUENCE

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speak-

er, Communist Cuba has applied for membership in Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. This group is a technical consulting section of the United Nations, and is composed of the major shipping nations of the world.

U.N. Secretary General U Thant has asked the State Department to consider Cuba's application before the IMCO meeting to be held in London beginning June 15-18. The State Department is now considering Cuba's request, and will send representatives to London shortly.

Communist Cuba has no business whatsoever in this organization. Cuba is a dictatorship. Cuba has said it will abide by IMCO recommendations only when it suits her purposes. In short, Castro says he will not give IMCO much cooperation.

We know that Castro is not very cooperative when it comes to shipping. Recall that on February 22, 1963, Cuban Migs fired rockets on an unarmed shrimp boat out of Fort Myers, Fla., when she was drifting in the international waters of the Caribbean. Recall also that an American-owned Liberian ship was fired upon in the international waters of the Caribbean on October 22, 1963, by Cuban craft.

Castro's record is hardly one of cooperation. It is a record of harassment and outright aggression.

I urge that the State Department vigorously protest the admission of Communist Cuba to the IMCO group.

#### BILL TO AMEND TITLE II OF THE WATER RESOURCES RESEARCH ACT

(Mr. ASHLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, last year the Congress passed the Water Resources Research Act of 1964 to meet the need for widespread research on a variety of urgent problems connected with the supply, conservation, and use of water, ever increasing quantities of which are required by our exploding population to meet new industrial, domestic, and recreational demands, as well as for the age-old production of food and fibers.

The Water Resources Research Act of 1964 established three grant programs. The first was to help finance the cost of water resources research centers at land-grant colleges in each State. The second program provided matching funds to assist States in carrying out specific water research projects approved by the Department of the Interior. The third program authorized grants or contracts by the Secretary of the Interior for research problems connected with the Department's responsibilities.

While an impressive start has already been made under the 1964 act, there is considerable evidence that the water research program should not be confined to institutes which are a part of the land-grant educational institution system, excellent as these organizations are. For this reason, Mr. Speaker, I am joining



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three of my House colleagues in sponsoring amendments to the 1964 act which authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make grants, contracts, or other arrangements with educational institutions, private foundations, or with private firms and individuals whose training, experience, and qualifications are adequate for the conduct of water research projects, as well as with local, State, or Federal agencies. The legislation which I am introducing also increases the authorization for water research to \$5 million in fiscal 1966, increasing \$1 million annually for 5 years and continuing at \$10 million annually thereafter. The amounts provided in the act of 1964 were limited to \$1 million annually for 10 years and required that arrangements under this program be submitted to the Senate and House Interior Committees, which would have 60 days to disapprove them. Under the bill introduced today, this veto power would also be eliminated.

Under the limited appropriations made available for fiscal 1965, some 43 States submitted detailed applications for funds for water research projects in their land-grant institutions. Fourteen centers were selected out of the 43 applicants. A summary of the nine major categories of projects that have been submitted for consideration makes dramatically clear the need for the legislation which I have introduced and for continued support of a broad program of research of our water resources.

## CATEGORIES OF WATER RESOURCES RESEARCH

First. Nature of water.

Second. Water cycle—including precipitation; snow, ice, and permafrost; evaporation and transpiration; streams and lakes, ground water and hydrogeology; oceanic influences; and forecasting.

Third. Water and land management—including water movement in soils; water and plants; watershed protection; water-yield improvement; erosion and sedimentation; upstream flood abatement; irrigation; and drainage.

Fourth. Development and control—including water supply; flood control—downstream; hydropower; navigation; urban and industrial water-use problems; recreation; fish and wildlife; estuarine oceanography; coastal engineering.

Fifth. Qualitative aspects—including characterization of wastes; effects of pollution on water uses; interactions of wastes; disposal of waste effluents; surface interactions; effects of development on quality; quality characteristics; and aqueous solutions.

Sixth. Reuse and separation—including saline-water conversion advanced waste treatment; improved treatment of wastes; treatment of water; and use of water of impaired quality.

Seventh. Economic and institutional aspects—including role of water in growth, economics of development and management; economic analysis of institutions; area appraisals.

Eighth. Engineering systems—including design; materials; and construction, operation and maintenance.

Ninth. Manpower and research facilities—including education and training; and research facilities.

## TEXTILE FIBER PRODUCTS IDENTIFICATION ACT

(Mr. KORNEGAY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, the President has signed into law one of the first legislative accomplishments in the administration campaign to advance the interests of the American consumer.

I refer to the final enactment of an amendment to the Textile Fiber Products Identification Act which will permit identification of fibers present in textile products in quantities of 5 percent or less.

This amendment will serve to benefit not only those people whose livelihoods depend on the strength and growth of the textile industry, but the national economy as a whole.

Its primary beneficiary will be the American consumer and purchaser of modern textile products. As formerly framed, the Textile Fiber Products Identification Act prohibited mention of fibers when they were not present in textile products in quantities of more than 5 percent. Advancing textile technology made this section of the law an anachronism which impeded the consumer's right to know regarding the quality of textile products purchased.

It was clear that this anachronism of the law was harmful to the general economy and to the growth of our modern textile industry. Action to remedy this defect and to update the law was needed. This was recognized by interested administration spokesmen and agencies—including the President's adviser on consumer affairs, Mrs. Esther Peterson—all of whom endorsed passage of this legislation after it was introduced.

Along with my distinguished colleague from North Carolina, Senator B. EVERETT JORDAN, who sponsored the amendment in the Senate, I am glad to have been instrumental in initiating and advancing passage into law of this legislation, so vital to the people of my home area.

But of equal, if not greater importance, I am especially pleased that this amendment does indeed represent one of the first legislative acts implementing the President's consumer interest campaign. It will serve to encourage and strengthen the growth of one of our Nation's most important economic segments, the textile industry—and thus, our economy as a whole.

#### UNDER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE WILBUR J. COHEN DELIVERS COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AT CORTLAND

(Mr. STRATTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point and include a speech.)

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday the distinguished new Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen, delivered the commencement address at our State University College at Cortland, N.Y., in my congressional district. It was a most impressive occasion and a very splendid address.

Cortland is one of the outstanding, rapidly growing parts of New York's State University, with a magnificent campus and a fine, able faculty. It has had a great history, and under the leadership of its new president, Dr. Kenneth E. Young, it will make even more brilliant strides in the future. Surely Cortland College is making this area of upstate New York a great educational center, as well as a great industrial, agricultural, and tourist center.

In these circumstances, Secretary Cohen's address was most appropriate and most favorably received, as it outlined the increasingly important emphasis being placed on educational achievement by our Government.

In order to bring Secretary Cohen's address to the attention of my colleagues, I include it at this point as a portion of my remarks:

## EDUCATION IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

(By Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare)

A long time ago, long before the class of 1965 was even born, I had the good fortune to go to college. I was aware that it was good fortune, because those were the days, in 1930, when most fortunes in this country had crashed precipitously with the stock market, and parents and young people like myself were shaken by the great wave of apprehension that swept over the country.

I knew that I was lucky. I was the first in my immediate family to go to college. Many of my high school friends were financially unable to go. But I must say that I didn't have as much trouble getting into and out of college as most young people have today. There were no college boards, no SATS, no really formidable competition. A high school graduate just presented himself, finances permitting. If his high school record was less than impressive, some colleges were willing to offer a second chance. Often there were more spaces than qualified applicants anyway, and many colleges were frankly happy to have enough students to teach.

My first 2 years were spent in an institution which no longer exists—the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin. Some of the students of education have probably read about it. The college was the brainchild of Alexander Meiklejohn—the president of Amherst College and one of the great teachers of this Nation.

A philosopher and an ardent advocate of freedom, Dr. Meiklejohn believed that education itself should be free—literally free. It should be freely sought and freely given. He had the idea that young people were so hungry and thirsty for knowledge that if you set out the feast they would come and devour it of their own free will. He believed that learning provided its own reward, and failure to learn was its own adequate punishment. His ideal was the Greek ideal of excellence.

The college was established to test this idea in a 2-year undergraduate curriculum. I happened to be there at that time, and for that I also count myself fortunate.

From my point of view, the experiment succeeded. Within 5 years, Dr. Meiklejohn proved his contention that students did, in fact, learn as well in a free environment as in the traditional atmosphere of discipline and authority.

He encountered enormous administrative difficulties.

But the greatest difficulties were not administrative. They stemmed from the fact that this approach to learning—familiar as it was (since it was based on the ancient Socratic tradition), and effective as it was proved—was nevertheless completely alien

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General Life, the Fidelity Mutual Life, Massachusetts Mutual Life, the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York, New England Mutual Life, the Penn Mutual Life Insurance, Phoenix Mutual Life, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Philadelphia, and the Travelers Insurance Co.

## Castro's Subversion in the United States—Part II

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 25, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, part II of the two part series of the American Security Council's Washington Report dealing with the subject of Castro's subversion in the United States written by DeWitt S. Copp is reproduced below. Part I will be found on an earlier page in this Appendix.

The article follows:

[From the American Security Council's Washington Report, May 24, 1965]

#### CASTRO'S SUBVERSION IN THE UNITED STATES

At a recent State Department briefing on Latin American affairs, the briefing officer concluded his remarks with the observation that the Communists had a chance to make a show case out of Cuba but they have failed miserably. This conclusion was first offered by President Kennedy 3 years ago and it remains today as the accepted State Department attitude toward Castro and Cuba. Such an attitude fails to take into account that communism has never been a social or economic success anywhere; but as a show case from which to spread subversion, it has done admirably—and Cuba is an excellent example.

Our Washington report of last week illustrated the point by outlining the activities of the Cuban General Directorate of Intelligence. However, Castro's greatest success against the United States has been in the area of agitation and propaganda. Almost all his fieldworkers here are U.S. citizens. They are citizens who follow the Moscow, Peiping, or Trotskyite line. They range all the way from hardline Communists to soft-line dupes. A 2-year investigation by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security into the activities and membership of the now defunct Fair Play for Cuba Committee, organized in April 1960, proved that FPCC had been heavily infiltrated by known Communists and fellow travelers.

Despite State Department's issuance of travel restrictions to Cuba on January 16, 1961, many FPCC members traveled illegally to Havana and, upon their return to this country, gave lecturers extolling the Castro regime.

One of these was James Jackson, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Jean Pestana, Rose Rosenberg, and Helen Travis—all identified as Communists in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities—were indicative of the Cuban guest list which numbered in excess of 150 U.S. citizens over a 2-year period.

The FPCC was, by any fair definition, a Communist front. Its effect on the American public was negligible. But through its activities and the close contacts some of its members formed with the Castro regime, there grew up around it other more militant

groups. The most important of these was the Progressive Labor Movement.

PLM was organized in January 1962. Its president, Milton Rosen, and vice president, Mortimer Scheer, had both been expelled from the Communist Party for disruptive activities. In December 1962, PLM attempted to send a group of "students" to Cuba and failed because the Canadian Government refused clearance to a Cuban plane to pick them up. A year and a half later, PLM succeeded.

On June 25, 1963, 59 so-called students, ranging in age from 18 to 36, left for Cuba in defiance of the State Department ban on such travel. They traveled to Cuba via Paris, Prague, and Havana. All expenses, including transportation and living expenses while in Cuba, were paid for by the Cuban Government. Each traveler donated to PLM's Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba \$110. The air fare alone cost the Castro regime \$30,000.

While in Cuba, a number of the "students" made statements attacking U.S. policies, particularly in the field of civil rights and aid to South Vietnam. Some of these statements were beamed around the world and reprinted in Communist publications.

In June 1964, the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba arranged air transportation to Cuba for 84 "students." Overall direction appears to have been supplied by Lee Coe, west coast editor of PLM publications. Prior to his association with PLM, Coe was active for over 20 years with the Communist Party, U.S.A. This time not only did the Castro government pay for the entire trip, but it also gave each visitor \$10 a week spending money.

The leader of the "student" contingent was Edward Lemansky, who has identified himself "as a member of the Progressive Labor Movement, which is a Communist organization, a Communist movement."

An indication of why Castro has been willing to pay out in excess of \$75,000 to bring certain U.S. citizens to Cuba may be seen in the declaration signed by 61 of the "students" while they were in Cuba. The declaration said in part: "We, the undersigned young North Americans visiting Cuba, offer these statements of support for the people of South Vietnam in their just fight for liberation from the imperialist oppression directed by our Government. Today our Government is unleashing one of the most brutal and criminal wars in history. All over the world—in Spain and Portugal, in South Africa and Latin America—the United States supports racist and reactionary regimes which oppress the people, and that the intransigence of U.S. imperialism forces the people to take up arms in order to gain and defend their liberty." The essence of this declaration was widely broadcast throughout the world.

On April 15, 1965, Milton Rosen, PLM president, announced the founding convention of a new Communist Party paralleling the Chinese Communist line; 110 delegates attended the New York meeting. A declaration proposed by the PLM national steering committee said in part: "The most hated government in the world today is the Government of our country . . . the initials U.S.A., which once stood for hope, have replaced the crooked cross of Nazi Germany as the symbol of tyranny and death."

One of PLM's vice presidents and its Harlem leader is William Epton, arrested last August after the Harlem race riots on charges of advocating criminal anarchy.

PLM has three offices in New York City and boasts of six others scattered across the country, one in Berkeley, Calif. PLM publishes leaflets, booklets, and a quarterly magazine, and it expects to bring out a weekly soon. Its main political thrust is aimed at disrupting civil rights progress and stirring racial hatred. Its members were active in the

recent Berkeley campus revolt and they can be expected to be active in similar undertakings on other campuses.

Victor Riesel in a recent column quoted a top Government security official as saying: "They (PLM) are a very successful and militant band of young revolutionaries and have had ample money since the first day they went into business . . . . They don't just pass resolutions. They're zealously working for a revolution." The question is how much of their financial support is coming from Cuba?

The pro-Castro pro-Peiping Communist movement in the United States has its man in Havana. He is Robert F. Williams. In May 1959, Williams was removed from his position as head of the Union County, N.C., branch of the NAACP for advocating violence as a means to gain social justice for his race. In August 1961, he fled the country following a racial clash which he instigated in Monroe, N.C., and on October 3, 1961, the Castro government granted him political asylum. Since then, he has been spouting racial hatred while offering instructions in terror tactics on his program "Radio Free Dixie" broadcast over Radio Havana and beamed into the Southern States. Williams also writes a monthly pamphlet called the Crusader. Every edition is devoted to the hatred of and the eventual revolutionary overflow of the white man. Publication and distribution costs apparently are taken care of by the Cuban regime.

Lest anyone dismiss Williams as just another fanatical rabble rouser, it should be noted that when he traveled to Red China in August 1963, he was not only greeted by Mao Tse-tung and other high-ranking ChiCom officials, but Mao also chose that time to make his first official policy pronouncement in 6 years. As a result of his statement, Moscow charged that Peiping was guilty of racism and was "trying to set the colored races against the whites."

In the winter of 1963, followers of Williams organized the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). Today, they have branches in six key cities. It is they who distribute the Crusader and maintain direct contact with Williams. Some of them made the trip to Cuba in the summer of 1964.

When they returned, recruitment was stepped up. They are known to have infiltrated the Black Muslims and the Malcolm X group. RAM's fronts include the Afro-American Youth Council, the Afro-American Student Organization, and in Detroit they set up UHURU, which means freedom in Swahili.

RAM's manifesto advocates organized violence and the formation of guerrilla bands. Aligned with PLM, it follows the theories and tactics of the Chinese Communists. Its present membership is small and selective and it refers to itself "as a movement composed of hardcore, young, intelligent, militant Afro-Americans seeking worldwide black revolution."

Until recently, the Communists chains of command could be traced directly from the Kremlin to the party here. Today, whether it be the recently formed W. E. B. DuBois Clubs taking their cue from Moscow, or the Progressive Labor Movement taking its from Peiping, the impetus and driving force for both is channeled out of Cuba. Politically, financially, psychologically, militarily—Havana is the directing center for a major share of the Communist agitation and propaganda in the United States. It is the secured outpost of both Moscow and Peiping in our hemisphere.

In the aggregate, we can say the threat to our own security from Castro himself is nonexistent. However, he is the agent of a world force that does threaten our survival. As its agent, his followers have been at work here; they are at work now. Because our security agencies are competent to handle

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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such as PLM and RAM is no cause to ignore them. If nothing else, they prove the folly of considering Castro a failure. It is we who will have failed if we allow him to perpetuate his regime, treating it as a nuisance and not a genuine and continuing threat to the entire hemisphere.

**"Amazing Grace," a New Book by Robert Drake**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF**

**HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 17, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, Paul Flowers has written an outstanding column for many years in a great newspaper in the Nation, the Commercial Appeal.

In his column of Tuesday morning, May 11, he properly describes a new publication, "Amazing Grace," by Robert Drake, of Ripley, Tenn.

This column is so outstanding that I thought it should be brought to the attention of the Congress. The article follows:

**PAUL FLOWERS' GREENHOUSE**

Has a new mid-south author.

Robert Drake was born in 1930, and blessed with childhood in Ripley, Tenn. He is a member of the English faculty at University of Texas, and enjoys close associations in Memphis, particularly with Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Paster.

His book, "Amazing Grace," is a pleasant collection of nostalgic sketches about childhood in a west Tennessee town, with the traditional embellishment of involved family relationships, and flippies based on the idiosyncrasies of small town characters.

Mr. Drake took his title from an old hymn, and there is a strong thread of west Tennessee religious life running through the vignettes. It appears to be overwhelmingly autobiographical; certainly the author has a photographic memory for faces, scenes, situations and people, and he is preoccupied with the religious life of the community and neighboring places.

Under the title "The Fountain Filled With Blood," he traces the misgivings and doubts of a small boy, pledged for baptism in the Methodist faith, but disturbed by divergent theologies and customs of communicants in other churches, and other forms of baptism.

He recaptures emotions of country and small town funerals, dinners-on-the-grounds, singing conventions; his description of a country store makes quite real the odors of coal oil, fat-back, and roasted coffee beans.

His dedication is to Donald Davidson, "Prophet," Austin Warren, "Evangelist," and Cleanth Brooks, "Apostle."

The author is a frequent visitor to Memphis. His volume comes from Chilton Books, Philadelphia, at \$3.95.

The dust jacket refers to the contents as "stories," but more properly they should be called sketches or vignettes, unless the reader can accept the modern concept of the short story, which avoids plot and denouement.

Mr. Drake's pen is facile, his eye and ear keen, his feeling intense, and his style brisk. The book should have intense appeal to all old enough to remember small town life, the incidents of birth, death, courtship and marriage, race relations, school, family picnics, church socials, and revivals.

**Chung Hee Park, President of the  
Republic of Korea**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. JOHN M. MURPHY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 12, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 17, 1965, President Chung Hee Park of the Republic of South Korea visited with President Johnson. The high esteem in which President Park is held not only in this country, but throughout the free world, is graphically illustrated by the New York Herald Tribune editorial of May 19, 1935. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial:

**A KOREAN REPRESENTATIVE**

President Park, now visiting the United States, represents many things. He is, above all, the symbol of a state, South Korea, which proved that a massive Communist onslaught can be thrown back. The symbol stands both as a warning to Red China and as a source of encouragement to South Vietnam, the United States, and their allies.

And President Park is evidence that, once independence is secured, a war-torn Asian country is capable of impressive political and economic progress. Though his critics are numerous, most must agree that the power he holds today is derived from free elections. And though the economic problems are still great, the support of the United States, now being reinforced by Japan, has opened an encouraging future.

The cost of answering the Communist attack on South Korea, 15 years ago June 25, was great. The fruits of that victory were great, too.

Physical accomplishment is often the measure of a man's leadership as well as the country's progress. The following article from the New York Times of May 19, 1965, indicates what hard work and sound leadership can do for a people who want to live in a free society:

**YEAR OF HARD WORK—YOUNG COUNTRY WITH  
OLD HISTORY MARKS PROGRESS; KOREA—  
UNITED STATES RELATIONS**

On January 16, 1965, President Chung Hee Park stated in his new year message to the National Assembly that "the accumulated dirt of the past 20 years, which have been spent in confusion and stagnation, should be overcome and scoured, and it is time that we work real hard." This year, the fourth year of the first 5-year economic development plan; he designated "the year of hard work."

The political, economic, and social circumstances of Korea had been very insecure in the past, as attested to by the two revolutions of April 19, 1960, and May 16, 1961. But with the establishment of the Third Republic, stability has been recovered and things are now beginning to move ahead.

The greatest problem encountered in the 5-year economic development plan was the question of capital shortage. But with co-operation of friendly nations, sufficient foreign capital loans have been acquired and investment goods have begun to flow in.

Furthermore, sufficient energy resources such as electricity, coal, and petroleum have been secured to support industrial develop-

ment. Thus the base for fruitful work has been laid.

For this year of hard work the Republic of Korea has established increased production, more exports, and greater construction, as her goal.

To support this, many important projects are being carried out. The following is a summary of those plans:

**PRODUCTION**

Sixty percent of the population depends on agriculture for living. In order not to perpetuate the "intolerable contradiction" that food shortages persist despite such circumstances, the farmland, with an area of 5,020,000 acres, or about 20.6 percent of the area of the country, will be further expanded. Through farm improvement and technical extension programs, self-sufficiency in food grain will be achieved.

To this end, the Government has established a 7-year grain production plan, and has allocated 3 billion won (\$11,700,000) to help finance it. Through technical guidance, the utilization of farmland will be improved, and through improved irrigation and other aids the unit yield will be raised. Also more upland will be bench-terraced, and tidal land will be further reclaimed, thus expanding land under cultivation and increasing grain supply.

In addition, the plan provides for adequate domestic production of fertilizer, agricultural pesticides, farm tools, and fishing equipment to help increase agricultural and fisheries production. In mining and manufacturing, coal output will be 10 million tons, about double the 1960 level, electricity will quadruple to 770,000 kilowatts, and cement will increase fourfold to 2,120,000 metric tons. Sheet glass production is scheduled to triple to 600,000 boxes, and other major products will also be expanded. Also articles of daily necessity, including bicycles and sewing machines, will expand four to six times over 1960 level.

**EXPORT**

Korea depends highly on imports for consumables, equipment and machinery, and industrial raw materials. Compared to the great import requirements, exports amounted to a negligible \$20 to \$30 million a year, the principal export having been tungsten and a few other commodities.

Fortunately, owing to a concerted national effort Korea was able to expand exports greatly in 1964—to about four times the \$32 million attained in 1960, thus achieving a record \$120 million.

This year the target has been raised to \$170 million, and efforts will be made to export more and more manufactured articles. Thus by 1967 at least \$300 million in foreign exchange will be earned through exports, and the aims at exporting \$1 billion worth a year within 10 years.

**CONSTRUCTION**

For promoting production and exports, various new factories to support industrial activities will be built. The nation's resources will be systematically developed by carrying on coordinated programs for construction of powerplants, transport and communications facilities, housing, and so forth.

Two powerplants now under construction will be completed this year and power supply will increase to 111,000 kilowatt-hours. In addition, three new powerplants will be built. Also cement production will be raised, and the fifth cement factory of the country will be completed by the end of the year.

Korea's third and fourth fertilizer plants will be built with the aim of achieving self-sufficiency in fertilizer.

Railway transportation, ports and harbors, shipping and other transport facilities will be expanded and the communications network enlarged. Thus construction projects will progress actively in many directions.

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power. Robots are causing a new emphasis on man's eyes to measure, his hands to adjust, and his mind to select. They cannot eliminate, however, the requirement for alert, educated, and trained men. Machines do not create, they only duplicate. Automatic equipment does not think, it follows orders. Individuals must know when to push the button and why.

There is a great stress on education today. This is as it should be. The serviceman is well ahead on this score. He remains behind in financial compensation. The Continental Army Command operates 28 schools. It is based right here at Fort Monroe. It offers a selection of 600 courses. Three hundred and fifty military occupation specialists are available. One hundred and sixty thousand individuals take advantage of this opportunity on site. Another 200,000 are enrolled in correspondence courses.

The educational attainments of the man in uniform are steadily rising. Seventy-three percent of the enlisted personnel are high school graduates. It was 48 percent just 10 years ago. Only 25 percent of the American male population over 25 has graduated from high school. Eight percent of the American men over 25 are college graduates. Sixty-nine percent of the officer corps today have college diplomas, 10 years ago it was only 50 percent. This makes him a better soldier. It entitles him to more pay.

The President appointed a committee to study the matter of military pay. The committee has reported and recommended an upward adjustment of 4.7 percent. This is grossly inadequate.

Congressman MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, has introduced a military pay bill, H.R. 5725, to bring about this objective. I hope you will persuade your Congressman to support this bill.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

May we direct our attention to the subject of foreign affairs. There are some among us who say that the foreign policy of this country should be of no concern to any except the ones directly responsible for its implementation. With this I do not agree. It occurs to me that the foreign policy of this country should be of vital concern to every one who is interested in the preservation of our American way, based upon a fundamental belief in God and propelled by our profit-motivated system.

The purpose of our foreign policy should be to protect and advance U.S. interests in world affairs. The purpose of our national security program should be to provide the muscle to make that policy effective.

The winds of slavery blowing out of the Sino-Soviet countries are on a collision course with the winds of freedom from the West. The future of mankind may very well be determined by which wind prevails.

Although men dream of a more fruitful use of life than to spend their creative energies building the instruments of destruction, there appears to be no safe alternative. Here are some reasons why. On October 15, 1964, Nikita Khrushchev, the recognized leader of the worldwide Communist conspiracy and overlord of the most expansive colonial empire in contemporary world history, was impeached by his own cabinet. Why? Because he failed to practice 100-percent communism. He was replaced by the team of Breznev and Kossygin. In their first policy pronouncements they declared a continuation of the 20-year cold war upon the United States and her allies. They called for an extension of their philosophy of peaceful and competitive coexistence. Stalin, too, practiced coexistence. He joined the hated Socialists in the 1930's. He was allied with the detestable capitalists in World War II. We paid for our naiveness at Tehran and Yalta. Kossygin will present his bill in due

time. We will pay again unless we learn from the lessons of history. Peaceful coexistence is a noble ideal but about as practical under today's world conditions and by the Soviet definition as total disarmament.

There seems to be some difference of opinion as to why we are in South Vietnam. Here is my opinion. We are there to fulfill the terms of a contractual obligation. We are there because we were invited by the South Vietnamese to create a climate for political self-determination. We are there in the interest of 350 million southeast Asians and in our self-interest. We are there because our Government feels it is better to fight in Vietnam than in Hawaii, Alaska, or the west coast of the mainland. This is another inning in an overtime ball game.

It is important that we recognize this fact of life. We are not in southeast Asia to impose democracy nor should we be. Representative democracy is never imposed from without. It must develop and grow from within. Only dictatorships and monarchies are made. Representative democracy is an institution of political noonday. It is not the half-light of political dawn.

Having been in southeast Asia recently, I do not share the pessimism of some. I found our military personnel ready to undertake whatever assignment was given them in the interest of freedom. If the politicians make the right decisions, and at the moment they are in my judgment, I have no fear of the ultimate outcome. Planned escalation is winning the war. It should be continued and accelerated if found necessary.

There is a small minority in Congress and elsewhere who advocate a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam. This would be an exercise in futility. It might help them to remember that we are in a negotiated situation at this time. Based upon past experience, the enemy would propose as a basis for settlement a coalition government similar to the Laos-Troika. This crumbling monument to our naiveness is not calculated to serve well the interest of freedom. The enemy understands only naked power. I applaud the President's decision to use such power.

While our eyes are glued to the situation in Vietnam, our adversaries are fishing in the troubled waters of the Dominican Republic. Conditions in that island republic degenerated to the point that the President was required to snatch the Monroe Doctrine from the Bay of Pigs and impose its terms there. He was justified in doing so. Our failure to wipe the scum of communism from our doorstep in Cuba produced this untenable situation. President Johnson, subscribing to the theory that two wrongs never make a right, acted with dispatch and restored honor to our country in this instance. Let us not compromise our position there now and lose the peace after having won the war as has so frequently been the case.

We can take little comfort from the rift between Russia and Red China. The Communist camps are barking at one another. This does not mean they have lost their teeth or their appetite. Kossygin preaches goulash over guns. Mao Tse-tung preaches guns over goulash. The quarrel is whether the revolution should be fought on an empty stomach or a full one. Both agree the revolution must continue. The division is not on what communism is. It's how communism can destroy representative democracy. It is an argument of methods, not objectives. World domination is the goal of both. Marx is a prophet of both. We must understand the nature of the protractive struggle. We must have no illusions about the meaning of the ideological conflict.

Our best guarantee for peace is to keep our country economically sound, morally and spiritually right, and militarily impregnable.

**Capt. Paul Crawley, U.S. Army, Norwich, N.Y., Soldier, Displays Gallantry Under Fire in Vietnam**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF**HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 25, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, with all the detailed discussion that has gone on in recent weeks regarding the fighting in Vietnam I sometimes think we are apt to forget that it is individual American combat men who are carrying out, without complaint and with very great distinction, the heavy burden of our commitment there.

One of the most fascinating and impressive stories of personal valor in Vietnam came to my attention the other day with regard to the actions of a constituent of mine Army Capt. Paul Crawley, of Norwich, N.Y. The account appeared in the Norwich Evening Sun for May 11, 1965, and under unanimous consent, I include it at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

NEWSMAN DESCRIBES NORWICH MAN'S  
GALLANTRY

A gallant Norwich soldier, Capt. Paul Crawley, was featured in a full-color picture and story on the front page of the St. Petersburg, Fla., Times, May 2.

The story, written by a Times staffman who had just returned from special assignment in Vietnam, told of Captain Crawley's gallantry under fire in a combat situation as deadly as any which took place in World War II or Korea. Here is the story as told by George Sweers, of the St. Petersburg Times.

The incident took place on a 5½-hour patrol whose purpose was to capture small Red hamlets during which Captain Crawley acted as an adviser to the actual leader of the patrol, Captain Hong of the Vietnamese Army. Crawley said "My job is to work with and advise my counterpart Captain Hong \* \* \* everything goes through him.

"Hong does not speak English and Crawley, who has been in Vietnam only 3 weeks, knows little Vietnamese. This makes the advising process a complicated one. Crawley has two interpreters to maintain liaison with Hong."

"The patrol started. I (Sweers) went with Crawley and Hong who were taking 50 of the 200 Vietnamese straight toward the hamlets."

"As we started out, I stayed close to Captain Crawley." When we were halfway up the hill, the first Vietcong opened light sniper fire at the leadmen in our group which had reached the top of the hill. The leadmen returned the fire \* \* \* downhill into the hamlet and the rest of us hurried up to the peak and crouched behind the concrete gravestones that dot Vietnamese hills.

The firing stopped and started again but this time "it was the steady chatter of a machinegun fire raking the cleared area around the village."

"Crawley told his radicman to inform the U.S. helicopter hovering over us that we were pinned down. The copter radioed back to ask if Crawley wanted rocket machinegun-suppression fire into the hamlet to get the machinegun.



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"Crawley can't make that decision. He's an adviser. That decision is up to the Vietnamese commander. So Captain Hong came scurrying up to confer.

"Crawley told the interpreter the unit was pinned down. The interpreter told Hong. Hong told the interpreter he realized the situation. The interpreter passed the information on to Crawley.

"Crawley told the interpreter he was advising Hong to ask for some suppression fire from the helicopter. The interpreter told Hong. Hong answered back through the interpreter that too many of his men were too close to the hamlet wall. The helicopter's rockets might kill some of the South Vietnamese troops.

"They talked back and forth through the interpreter and pored over their maps while the bullets cracked overhead. It was a classic example of the language problem that has hampered these joint U.S.-South Vietnamese operations since they began.

Finally Hong convinced Crawley the helicopter fire would be too dangerous and the armed chopper was waved off.

"The Vietnamese were pouring the fire into the hamlet now, the bullets chipping the bamboo wall around the hamlet.

"The fire let up a little. The Vietcong apparently were slipping out the back door and the first Vietnamese were entering the hamlet to mop up.

"The radios started to chatter again. The Vietnamese radioman reported to his captain that one of their men had been hit. The captain told his interpreter who told Crawley.

"Crawley looked around. The wounded man was a sergeant in a platoon to our right. Crawley told his radioman to call for an Air Evac—an ambulance helicopter to pick up the wounded man.

"The wounded man was too close to the hamlet wall, however, and would have to be brought out to an open field where the copter could land.

"Crawley looked at his interpreter and then decided not to go through another complicated two-language conversation with Hong and the interpreters.

"Let's go get him," he yelled to his medical aid man and we were off and running. We found the wounded man on a grassy slope. His leg had been crudely bandaged.

"Crawley still had to get the Vietnamese soldier to where the copter could land. Without saying a word he picked him up and started to carrying him toward the clearing. Spahn and I followed along as the American captain carried the Vietnamese sergeant through a paddy canal with water up to his waist. We reached a safe area several hundred yards from the hamlet and waited.

"We could look back at the hamlet where the Vietnamese were spraying the thatched huts with submachinegun fire and looking inside for Vietcong. At one point a Vietcong guerrilla bolted from the hamlet and ran for the trees at the edge of the clearing. A hail of fire reached out for him but he made it to the trees, and disappeared into the jungle.

"Now we could hear the whirring of the ambulance copter in the sky and Spahn ignited a green smoke grenade to indicate the wind direction to the pilot. He landed. We put the wounded soldier aboard and copter lifted off and headed for the hospital.

"The battle was over.

"The Vietcong snipers had fled leaving behind some supplies and ammunition. The hamlet was secure—at least for now. But after the troops left, couldn't the Vietcong come right back, patch up the fort and start sniping at the railroad repair crews again?

"I asked the captain.

"Was it a success?" he asked himself. "In some ways, yes. We got some of their supplies but we didn't get them. I wanted us to get some of them. But their intelligence and ways of getting out are fantastic.

And once they get into the jungle they just disappear."

"How long they disappear, no one knows. It's possible Crawley and his troops will have to come back to this same hamlet in a week and make the Vietcong disappear again.

"For this day anyway, our little part of the war was over. We walked back home."

#### CAPTAIN IS CAREER MAN

Capt. Paul Crawley attended elementary school in Norwich. He was graduated from Valley Forge Military Academy in 1951 and attended Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy for 2 years before enlisting in the Regular Army in 1953.

The son of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Crawley of 17 Miller Street, Norwich, Captain Crawley has made a career of the Army. He was graduated from OCS at Fort Benning, Ga., where he took a ranger course.

He was also with the 82d Airborne Division for 2 years, as a paratrooper, and made more than 30 jumps.

### Castro's Subversion in the United States—Part I

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 25, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the American Security Council is one of the Nation's most respected private organizations dedicated to the preservation of the Nation and of freedom everywhere. Its weekly Washington Report invariably deals authoritatively with national and international developments affecting the Nation's security. The May 17 and 24 issues of this report detailed the pattern of Castro's subversion in the United States as written by DeWitt S. Copp, its able and authoritative managing editor. Part I of the two-part series is as follows:

#### WASHINGTON REPORT: CASTRO'S SUBVERSION IN THE UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1965.—British historian and philosopher, Arnold Toynbee, before giving a lecture at the State Department on April 16, 1965, was quoted as saying: "It's hard to understand why you make such a fuss about Castro." And then comparing the United States and Cuba to an elephant and its fear of a mouse, he quipped, "It's great fun for the mouse."

Just a week prior to these comments, a CIA report on Cuban subversion was submitted to the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs (Selden committee). The report stated in part that "the Castro regime has in operation (since 1961) a highly professional espionage and subversion agency, the General Directorate of Intelligence (DGI). The DGI is advised by at least five Soviet intelligence specialists. Moreover, one of the purposes of the highly secret meetings of Latin American leaders in Havana last November was to give added impetus to more militant Communist activity in the hemisphere."

Castro's DGI is divided into three units, the largest of which masterminds the training, financing and promoting of subversion, and guerrilla warfare in Central and South American countries. Though the CIA report spelled out in detail the degree of the DGI's activities in these areas, it made no mention of its efforts in the United States.

Our own investigation attempts in some measure to fill the gap.

#### METHODS OF INFILTRATION

There are two known major points of entry by which covert Castro agents infiltrate the United States. One is by fishing boat to Puerto Rico, and then by illegally entering the United States with falsified documents. Congressman WILLIAM CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, in testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security as far back as 2 years ago said that " \* \* \* in excess of 1,000 people have come through this route into the United States as Puerto Rican citizens with falsified passports."

The other method of infiltration is by boat or plane to Mexico. There the Mexican Communist Party supplies the proper papers and the agent crosses the border at Laredo, Juarez, or Tijuana. Infiltrators from Cuba who enter the United States using either one of these routes, or via Canada, masking their identities by whatever manner, are trained agents whose assignments cover the Marxian spectrum of subversive activities.

#### INDICATION OF ACTIVITIES

On the night of November 16, 1962, the FBI raided a workshop on West 27th Street in New York City. There they seized a secret cache of weapons and explosives which included delayed action incendiary bombs. They also arrested three Castro agents and Roberto Santiesteban Casanova, a newly arrived attaché with the Cuban mission at the U.N. The other members of the Cuban mission, Jose Gomez Abad and his wife, Elsa, were named as fellow conspirators.

The purpose of the weapons and the explosives was for the sabotaging of defense installations and the demoralization of the civilian population. Attorney General Robert Kennedy said the plan was aimed at the heart of the internal security of the United States of America.

Four days later, immigration officers in Brownsville, Tex., reported that Mexican authorities had prevented the blowing up of the International Bridge between Brownsville and Matamoros, Mexico. In doing so, they also nipped in the bud a sabotage plan to destroy major buildings in Matamoros. Two of those apprehended were Castro agents.

Since 1962, there have been several allied cases, one taking place in October 1964, in which a bomb was exploded in the Everglades Hotel in Miami, injuring a number of Cuban exiles attending a meeting.

Some months later, a Cuban terrorist threat to bomb the Roney Plaza Hotel in Miami intimidated the management into canceling a meeting of this same exile organization.

This threat came on the same day the bomb plot to blow up the Washington Monument, the Statue of Liberty, and the Liberty Bell was discovered.

On the surface, this latter episode appeared to be the wild act of a quartet of misguided idiots. But there is sound reason to believe that, wild as the attempt was, the four would-be saboteurs were acting under DGI instructions. Leader of the bomb plot, Robert S. Collier, had traveled illegally to Cuba in the summer of 1964. Upon his return, he formed, with a number of fellow Cuban travelers, a pro-Castro, pro-Beiping group which called itself the Black Liberation Front. In December 1964 a United Nations party was given by the Cuban delegation in honor of its visiting guerrilla expert, Ernesto Che Guevara. At this party, Collier was introduced to Michelle Duclos, a member of an extremist separatist organization in Quebec. Later, the plotters bought the dynamite in Canada, and it was Miss Duclos who transported the explosives to New York in her car.

These five incidents fall under the heading of terror tactics. That only one of them



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met with any real degree of success speaks well for the FBI and our law-enforcement agencies. However, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, pointed out in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations last year that the efforts of the Castro regime to infiltrate intelligence agents into the United States "show that we (FBI) must maintain a broad coverage in this area of our operations."

How broad a coverage can be glimpsed by these additional incidents. In early 1963, a Castro agent was apprehended in a New York City apartment possessing a suitcase filled with visa applications and other documents which would aid fellow agents to gain illegal entry into the United States.

From Caracas, Venezuela, in February of this year came news of another type of smuggling operation, which again pointed toward the activities of U.S.-based Castro agents. By accident, on board the U.S. ship *Santa Rosa* were found 1,000 mail pouches filled with pro-Castro literature. The literature had been printed in and shipped from Miami, Fla.

Just as Puerto Rico has served as an important way station in Castro agents to enter the United States, it has also served as a transit point for still another sort of smuggling—that of narcotic drugs.

In December 1964, three Castro agents were arrested at Miami Airport—one of them a Cuban, Mario Carabeo Nerey. Treasury officials in Puerto Rico said Carabeo Nerey was engaged in drug traffic. How large the traffic is can be measured by the fact that between January and November 1964, narcotics agents seized 697 pounds of drugs being smuggled into the U.S. from Cuba. This was an increase of over 450 pounds seized during the previous year. Included in this amount was heroin, shipped to Cuba from Red China.

In January 1965, a New York police inspector, Ira Bluth, was quoted as saying: "Marihuana used to come to New York almost entirely from Mexico, but recently large amounts of the drug have been discovered coming from Cuba."

On January 15, 1965, Oscar H. Reguera and Eldorado Martinez were taken into custody in a New York motel with \$3 million worth of cocaine in their luggage. Martinez is believed to be a Castro agent.

Aside from the obvious harmful effects addition to these drugs creates, the major purpose behind the smuggling of narcotics into the United States by Castro agents is to raise money to finance an insurrection in Puerto Rico.

Castro's DGI is working in concert with Puerto Rican Communists and militant splinter factions of the Puerto Rican independence movement, accelerating their attacks against the social and governmental structure of the island. Since 1961, a number of Castro-supplied arms caches have been uncovered. Gun battles have been fought between the police and insurrectionists. Castro agents have infiltrated both exile and student groups, their purpose being to stimulate the kind of rioting which would require armed intervention. Should this happen, the cry for independence, which 97 percent of the Puerto Rican electorate rejected in the November 1964 elections, would take on a more critical meaning. This is so because the strategy of the movement is tied directly to the November 20, 1964, vote of the United Nations Committee on Anticolonialism. The Committee voted 17 to 6, in direct violation of a 1953 General Assembly ruling, to place the demand for Puerto Rican independence on the U.N. agenda.

This act played directly into the hands of Castro's DGI and Puerto Rican extremists—two of whom are presently members of the Cuban P.N. mission.

When the General Assembly convenes again, there is little doubt that agitation and propaganda will be stepped up in New York

and San Juan, with the possibility of more violent actions erupting in Puerto Rico.

SCOPE OF THE EFFORT

Recently, the Puerto Rican newspaper "El Mundo" estimated that since 1960, 12,000 Americans and Puerto Ricans have received subversive training in Cuba.

We cannot attest to the accuracy of the figures nor can we say how many of that number are under the orders of the Cuban Directorate of Intelligence. Although we do not have Castro-trained guerrillas operating in our country as a number of the Latin American countries presently do, we can say that intelligence and law enforcement agencies here and in Puerto Rico take the efforts of the DGI most seriously.

Of course, the publicly known cases outlined in this report can only give an indication of what is afoot. Hoary historians such as Toynbee may look down upon the world and view it from the vantage point of centuries. Unfortunately, we who have to live in the world from day to day and face its reality cannot afford cute analogies of mice and elephants with regard to Castro and ourselves.

In part II of "Castro's Subversion in the United States" we will show how Castro's American supporters, using the techniques of agitation and propaganda; by forming front groups; by infiltrating the civil rights movement, and by attacking our foreign policy are winning important victories in what can best be termed the psychological hot war.

Champion Harebrained Scheme

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 25, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following editorial by Mrs. Guy Easterly, publisher of the *La Follette Press*. This timely and revealing editorial appeared in the May 20, 1965, edition of this widely read and respected Tennessee newspaper.

I concur wholeheartedly with the views presented and commend its contents to my colleagues.

CHAMPION HAREBRAINED SCHEME

Many people have thought the national administration in Washington has gone off the deep end so many times that there would be no more deep ends left \* \* \* but these people have underestimated the national administration.

It is with continuing amazement that we observe the proposals put forth by the administration and one of the latest is definitely a prizewinner—something of a humdinger among humdingers.

The administration is proposing that the Federal Government help pay the rent for moderate income and needy families. This facet of the Great Society is called an "effort to improve the American city."

Improving the American city is a commendable idea, but the powers that be call "moderate" and "needy" families those with incomes up to \$16,200 per year and who pay as high as \$200 per month in rent.

It seems that the time is long past due when the American people—those who strive to make their own way and who believe this striving is a good and wholesome thing—should inform their representatives in Washington that they are tired of supporting such harebrained schemes as paying other people's rent.

Raise Insufficient

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 24, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the *Daily Sun*, San Bernardino, Calif., under date of May 20, 1965. The concern expressed in the editorial about the proposed military pay increase reflects the thoughts and tremendous interest of constituents who have written to me on this subject.

RAISE INSUFFICIENT

President Johnson's idea of how much pay servicemen should receive is disturbing. He has grand ideas about many expenditures of Government but what he offers servicemen is properly described by Congressman L. MENDEL RIVERS, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, as "paltry."

Said the Congressman: "We have been patient, hoping for something encouraging from the executive branch of Government and now this—a paltry increase based on a false premise—and suggesting an effective date of 1966."

The President's proposal is for an increase of 2.7-percent pay and fringe benefits to men with less than 2 years' service, and a 4.8-percent increase for the remainder.

However, it is the total pay and benefits that count: Such as \$2.40 added to the \$85.80 per month for apprentice seamen and \$6.51 added to the \$241.20 base pay for a midshipman. Pay in other services corresponds.

Young officers in all the services are dropping out at an alarming rate. They simply cannot raise families on the servicemen's pay. The dropout embraces all types of service; in the U.S. Navy there is an annual turnover of 150,000.

The San Diego Union speaks out strongly in criticism of the President's low estimate of the pay servicemen should receive:

"The failure of Congress to provide the minimum-level pay necessary for the essentials already is strongly felt in the military ranks. All top-echelon officers agree that the low rate of recruitment and high rate of personnel turnover has reached alarming proportions.

"There is a turnover of half of the personnel on a U.S. Navy combatant ship at our frontlines of defense. Only one-fifth of the Navy men reenlist after the first hitch.

"Secretary of Navy Paul H. Nitze already has asked officers and men to extend their enlistments up to a half year because of the manpower problem created by Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Other trouble spots can arise quickly, and the fleet already is far below manning strengths considered optimum.

"The turnover is no reflection on servicemen. They are patriotic and dedicated Americans. However, as with all other Americans, the welfare of their families is highly important. If they are deprived of necessities by remaining in the service or have to hold second jobs, the men lose incentive.

"The 37 members of the House Armed Services Committee recommended a military pay raise of 10.8 percent. Even this is a minimum. The administration's proposal is hardly more than a blow to morale."

The President should increase his recommendation for an increase of 4.8 percent to the 10.8 percent suggested by the House committee. The people have no right to ex-

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pect the men of the armed services will continue to work at pay scales far under those paid in private industry.

### Aliens and the Half-Open Door

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 25, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, in the Chicago Sun-Times of May 16, Tom Littlewood, of the Sun-Times Washington bureau, describes the aims and obstacles of changing the current immigration policies. Mr. Littlewood does an outstanding job in presenting the facts with reference to our present immigration law and the future of our country in connection with problems of immigration.

Tom Littlewood is an enlightened newspaperman who came to Washington during January of 1965. Prior to coming to the Nation's Capital, he was for 10 years the Springfield correspondent for the Sun-Times covering the Illinois State capital. Mr. Littlewood is a graduate of Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill.

I take this opportunity to call again to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the need for liberalization of our immigration laws in this session of the 39th Congress.

The article by Mr. Littlewood follows:

#### AN ARCHAIC SYSTEM OF QUOTAS

(By Tom Littlewood)

WASHINGTON.—The world is about to be offered a revealing glimpse into the national conscience of a country whose troops are deployed around the globe inspiring devotion to its celebrated principles of equality and justice.

As have the three Presidents before him, Lyndon B. Johnson has informed Congress that the immigration law has long since outlived whatever alleged usefulness it might have had when the oceans were considerably wider than they are now.

U.S. immigration policy is an outgrowth of the disillusion following World War I which gave citizens of the promised land a feeling of comfort and safety in isolation. The myths of that era have been disposed of, but the mainspring of our immigration policy remains that relic of isolationism, the national origins quota system.

This system can be understood most readily in terms of Peter Petropoulos, his maid, and his mother.

Let us assume that Pete is an American citizen of some financial attainment who wants to (1) hire a domestic servant from Ireland or England and (2) bring his widowed mother from Greece to live with his family.

Not unexpectedly, the United States is choosy about who gets in. As the test for admission, the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 perpetuated limits on the number of immigrants based on the white nationality mix of this country in 1920.

More than two-thirds of the 158,361 quota numbers are allocated to Great Britain and Ireland. Neither country consumed anywhere near its quota last year. Pete's maid can be off the boat and on the job in 4 to 6 weeks.

But Greece's quota is about 300 and there is a waiting list of about 100,000.

Even though close relatives of citizens are given preference second only to needed job skills, it will be at least 5 years before Pete's mother will be eligible for a visa. Italy's backlog is still larger, about 250,000.

Plainly put the U.S. policy is that the maid from Britain is more desirable than the relative from Greece or Italy or Poland or Spain or Africa or the Orient.

The law was written in a spirit of exclusivity to benefit Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, Germans, and other northern Europeans whose countrymen had the good fortune to be, like Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley, a Pilgrim father that missed the first boats." It was Mr. Dooley who insisted he must "raise me clayton voice agin' th' invasion of this fair land be th' paupers an' arnychists—re bet I must—because I'm here first."

An even more invidious feature of the law is what has come to be called the Asian-Pacific triangle. This restricts aliens of remote Asian stock to the small Asian quotas regardless of their place of birth. The triangle reaches from India and Pakistan east to China, Japan and most of the Pacific islands, but excluding Australia and New Zealand.

Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach has related the case of a young man from Colombia who is eligible to come here freely on nonquota status because he is from an independent nation in the Western Hemisphere. His wife, too, is a native and citizen of Colombia. But she is also the daughter of a Chinese father.

She must, therefore, be regarded as half-Chinese and eligible only under the quota for Chinese, which happens to be 105 a year. She ordinarily could reach the top of the list in the year 2048.

All this, President Johnson suggested in his immigration message to Congress, is neither good government nor good sense.

It results in prolonged separation of families. Needed job skills are denied the country. And there is the obvious hypocrisy from those who spout off far and wide about the democratic principles of fair treatment for all and yet insist on measuring potentiality for good citizenship in relationship to where a person happens to have been born.

Mr. Johnson has promised congressional champions of immigration reform that once the decks are cleared of voting rights legislation, he will push for the immigration bill. The amount of shove that he supplies will be a true test not only of his liberalism but of this presumably most liberal of all Congresses.

If it cannot be done by this Congress, it is hard to conceive how the system can ever be changed in a meaningful way.

This is nevertheless, a highly emotional question bringing into play deep-down-inside doubts. It's: Who do you want living in your town? But also: Will he someday be competing for your job?

The pattern of opposition is a familiar one—the American Legion and other veterans groups who merge danger of subversion with the idea that all foreigners are suspect; the Daughters of the American Revolution and other native-born patriotic societies dedicated to a clean white Anglo-Saxon Protestant America. The Steuben Society of German-Americans and some like groups whose memories are short. And some unions who regard the automation and unemployment and relief problems as bad enough already.

Although the national origins system was intended to place specific limits on immigration, broad differences have developed between theory and practice.

During the past decade, an average of 63,000 of the 158,000 annual quota numbers were turned back unused by the desirable nations. The unused portion could not,

however, be spread around among the other countries with waiting lists.

Nonquota aliens averaged 178,000 a year. These included the beneficiaries of special laws for refugees, war brides, and skilled persons, a relatively small number by private bill and 11,400 quota-free immigrants from this hemisphere. The last figure has alarmed some Congressmen who have noticed the dark skins and relief incidence of many Latin American aliens. (The Government already has cut off the unrestrained flow of low-cost migratory farm workers, the original purpose of the quota-free provision for Latin American countries.) Total immigration has been running nearly 300,000 a year; from 1931 until the end of World War II, by contrast, immigration never exceeded 100,000 a year.

Although Japan's quota is only 185, almost 5,000 visas have been issued annually to Japanese. The Indonesian quota is 100, but visas 1,657. Italy's quota is 5,666, visas 15,685.

The first half of each country's quota goes to persons with urgently needed skills. Last year, for instance, 568 tailors were admitted, 328 engineers, 200 teachers, 198 doctors. Before he arrives the immigrant must secure a specific job pledge from an employer.

The next 30 percent go to parents and unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens. The remaining 20 percent of the quota numbers are for spouses or unmarried children of permanent resident aliens awaiting citizenship.

A history of certain types of illness, including epilepsy, tuberculosis, and mental retardation, is a permanent bar to immigration. There have been cases in which a family has been prevented from immigrating because one of the children was a mild epileptic, modern treatment drugs notwithstanding.

Hearings have been partially completed by the immigration subcommittees of both Houses on the administration proposal for changing the law.

The overall maximum increase in immigrations would be only about 60,000 a year. Quotas would be reduced by one-fifth in each of the next 5 years, thus phasing out the national origins system over the period, and placing the retired numbers in a pool to be allotted on a first-come, first served basis.

The Asian-Pacific triangle concept, which Secretary of State Dean Rusk has labeled "overt statutory discrimination against more than half the world's population," would be abolished. No more than 10 percent of the total could come from any one country, though.

Order of preference would remain about the same: the first half to those with skills or education "especially advantageous" to the United States; the next 30 percent to the unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens; and the remaining 20 percent to spouses and children of resident aliens.

Parents of U.S. citizens could enter freely.

It would no longer be necessary for skilled immigrants to nail down a specific job before coming here.

Epilepsy would be removed as a ban, and mental illness would not be an automatic prohibition for persons having close relatives already in this country.

A joint congressional-executive immigration board would be created as an advisory body to decide which job skills are especially advantageous to the country.

Among new seed immigrants, the President would be authorized to reserve up to 10 percent for refugees fleeing oppression or catastrophe.

This year the immigration subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee was purposely increased from five to nine members so as to cope with its chairman. He is Representative MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, conservative Democrat from Cleveland, and Repre-

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spit of land in Peconic Bay, at which they landed, Conscience Point.

Notably, the first structure these settlers built, according to surviving historical records, was a church.

Their ideas the people of Long Island and New York States in general have harvested, to the lasting benefit of all. We owe them our gratitude.

When these settlers landed to Conscience Point, it was not their first contact with the soil of the New World. They had crossed the Atlantic Ocean to live in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the vicinity of what is now Lynn. However, they did not find there the freedom best suited to their lives. They then formed a company which received the King's grant carrying with it permission to settle on the far side of Long Island Sound, east of New Amsterdam.

On first landing they were rebuffed by the Dutch at Manhasset. It was at this point they moved eastward by boat to the Southampton area. Where they landed, Conscience Point in the hamlet of North Sea, is now a historical park.

The New York Times, in a recent article on Southampton's founding, quoted records of the landing's aftermath.

With gifts and greetings, these Puritans made friends with the Indians and were led by them along a trail through the woods, to what came to be known as Old Towne.

Friendly Indians helped the settlers to live on the land. The first houses were built on what is now the site of Southampton Hospital.

Today, the house built by an early settler, Thomas Halsey, has been restored through the efforts of the Southampton Colonial Society. It stands as the oldest colonial style house in the State, I am told.

Other sites of interest include the Shinnecock Indian Reservation, the one-room schoolhouse at Red Creek, the Pelletreau Silvershop, restored by the Southampton Village Improvement Society, the country store, the Captain Rogers homestead, the Parrish Museum on Jobs Lane, the Whaling Museum, the Customs House in Sag Harbor, the Quoque Wildlife Refuge, and the Automotive Museum.

I am certain that tourists from whatever State will be interested in attending the observance in which the communities that make up Southampton will take part: Bridgehampton, Eastport, Hampton Bays, North Sea, Noyack, Quoque, Remsenberg, Sag Harbor, Sagaponack, Shinnecock, Flanders, Water Mill, and Westhampton. The programs, including a reenactment of the Conscience Point landing, will begin in June and extend into September.

Southampton's citizens, including its historian, Arthur B. Hull, Jr., are to be congratulated for planning a summer in appreciation of our splendid heritage and the makers of that heritage.

#### CONGRATULATIONS TO HAROLD BEATON

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, on Friday the Senate confirmed the nomination of

Harold D. Beaton, of Michigan, to be U.S. attorney for the western district of Michigan for a term of 4 years.

It has been my pleasure to know Hal Beaton for many years and I want to join his legion of friends in congratulating him on this well-deserved appointment. I am sure he will do an outstanding job. My best wishes to him and his family.

#### ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, 63 years ago—on May 20, 1902—the Republic of Cuba was established. Seven years earlier, the great Cuban patriot, Jose Marti, was killed in Oriente Province, in the battle for freedom.

History thus reflects that the people of Cuba have long been committed to the principles of freedom and liberty. Suffering long under the yoke of Spanish rule, they strove to carve their own destiny. But the people of Cuba have been too often betrayed by men who invoked the name of liberty—only to seize power, to their own selfish ends.

Now, in Fidel Castro, Cuba has suffered the worst betrayal of all, for Castro not only concealed his own motivations but also delivered his countrymen into the hands of Soviet communism, and now conspires to subvert the other nations of the Caribbean and Latin America. The recent events in the Dominican Republic attest to the extent of the menace which the ascendancy of Castro has posed.

Jose Marti said to his people many years ago, in warning them against tyrants:

He who intends to govern should be worthy of government.

Marti saw the truth; but Castro, the false leader, has thrust down upon his own people a regime of oppression repugnant to the dream of Jose Marti and to all loyal Cubans.

I am hopeful that when the Organization of American States meets, to discuss the new crisis in the Dominican Republic, it will remember the tragic lesson of Cuba.

I know that the United States will never accept Castro and communism in this hemisphere.

The Cuban people will not be abandoned. I know that President Johnson is resolute against the exportation of Castroism to the hemisphere, and will do all that is morally and legally proper to assure the speedy dethroning of that despot.

The Cuban national anthem contains lines that describe the anguish of that nation today:

To live in chains is to live submitted to opprobrium and affront.

The Cuban refugees who streamed to Florida shores and the brave souls who today fight from the mountains give evidence that the fires of liberty still burn among Cubans.

Every effort must be made by the allies of this hemisphere to contain, and then erase, the Castro infamy.

Our other friends in the free world must now realize that Castro is not a comic-opera tyrant, a Lilliputian kicking the shins of the giant to the north, for the forces behind Castro are a threat, not only to the people of Cuba, but also to all in this hemisphere.

We must, of course, restore the path to peace in the Dominican Republic. But we must also stick to our resolve to see that Cuba is made free of its newest and most vicious tyranny.

#### PROPOSED REVISION OF SKIP-ROW COTTON-PLANTING REGULATIONS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the board of directors of the Littlefield, Tex., Chamber of Commerce recently directed a most important and well chosen letter to the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Office.

The directors point out their concern about a proposed revision of regulations pertaining to skip-row planting of cotton. This is a matter which will be of interest to other Senators; and I ask that the letter be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITTLEFIELD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
Littlefield, Tex., May 13, 1965.

DIRECTOR OF FARMER PROGRAMS DIVISION,  
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation  
Office, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The board of directors of the Littlefield Chamber of Commerce has made a thorough study of your proposed changes in the rules for measuring cotton when planted in a skip-row pattern for compliance with acreage allotment. We have also made a survey of the feelings of the farmers and businessmen in this area.

It is our conclusion that your proposed change in the ruling would be very harmful to the farmers and the entire economy of the south plains of Texas. The practice of skip-row planting has been recommended by various Government agencies such as the Extension Service and Soil Conservation Service. It has also been accepted by the farmers as a sound agricultural practice. The farmers tell us that the practice reduces their cost of production, conserves moisture and fertility, and increases the grade of cotton.

Your proposed ruling would make it impossible for economic reasons for farmers to continue this sound practice recommended by other Government agencies.

Since the farmers are already caught in a price squeeze, your proposed change in the rules would bankrupt many of them and vitally affect our entire economy.

The Littlefield Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously to ask you to please consider not changing the rules on skip-row planting. We leave this vital decision in your hands.

Sincerely,

C. W. CONWAY, President.

#### CASTROVILLE CHAMBER OPPOSES FIREARMS RESTRICTION

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the directors of the Castroville, Tex., Chamber of Commerce recently voted unanimously to express its concern over Senate bill 1592. In order that other Senators may judge the worries of Texans over this

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proposed legislation, I ask that a letter which I have received from the chamber be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CASTROVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
Castroville, Tex., May 15, 1965.  
Senator JOHN TOWER,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The directors of the Castroville Chamber of Commerce, acting in behalf of the civic minded citizens of this community, have voted unanimously to express to you their concern over Senate bill 1592, now in committee. We agree that the suppression of armed crime is necessary. However, we are strongly of the opinion that S. 1592 will be not only ineffectual but harmful. Outlawing firearms or severely restricting their ownership or procurement can have little effect on those who are willing to break the law, but such measures can place unreasonable restrictions on the enjoyment of healthful recreation by many law-abiding citizens. Further, a disarmed population is at the mercy of armed criminals or hostile forces. The battles of Lexington and Gonzales were fought by armed citizens to prevent the confiscation of their arms by a tyrannical government.

Thank you, and with best regards, I am  
Very truly yours,

LYNN BOEHME,  
President.

#### GUIDE TO WASHINGTON FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, several weeks ago, during the hearing of House District Committee's Subcommittee on Rapid Transit, I expressed my concern for the architectural barriers to our handicapped constituents. Since that time, I have been informed that an architectural barriers project exists, for the purpose of providing information for the handicapped, as well as to alert the public to the need for consideration of the problems of the handicapped.

The architectural barriers project has published a printed guide to Washington for the handicapped. I bring this guide to the attention of Senators, in the hope that it may assist them in giving information to their constituents. The guides are available through the District of Columbia Society for Crippled Children, the Maryland Society for Crippled Children and Adults, and the North Virginia Society for Crippled Children and Adults. I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD excerpts from the guide, including the table of contents, and a fact sheet on the architectural barriers project.

There being no objection, the excerpts and the memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### A GUIDE TO WASHINGTON FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

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#### INTRODUCTION

The architectural barriers project for the Metropolitan Washington area is truly a community undertaking. It is sponsored by the District of Columbia Commissioners Committee on Employment of the Handicapped and by the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Northern Virginia Societies for Crippled Children and Adults.

Many organizations, both public and private, and many individual volunteers have devoted hours of their time to the production of this guide. We wish to thank each and every one of them. This directory would not have been possible without the assistance of these groups and individuals.

Forms provided by the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults were used for surveying a number of the facilities listed here and we wish to thank the society for its valuable support. We also wish to express our appreciation to the owners, managers, or employees of the various places surveyed. Their cooperation made the task a much more pleasant one for our volunteers.

#### READING THIS DIRECTORY

This directory lists only a cross section of the facilities in the area. There are many not listed that have level entrances; i.e., most stores, service facilities, and movie theaters.

Realizing that a step or curb is as great a barrier as a flight of stairs for many an otherwise completely independent operator of wheelchair and car, we have noted these whenever known. Curbs in the District vary in heights up to 8 inches. The average height is 7 inches.

Those facilities marked with a "W" have been found accessible and usable by a person in a wheelchair, restroom facilities always excepted. In all other listings the front entrance is level unless another entrance is mentioned, in which case it is the one to be used. If there is an attendant to park your car, if leader dogs are allowed, or chairs have arms, it will be mentioned if we have the information. When restroom is on level this will be noted as accessible, meaning no steps but small doors less than 28 inches. Most restaurant chairs are sturdy, without arms.

#### PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

District of Columbia Commissioners' Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped.

Easter Seal Societies of the Metropolitan Washington area.

African Methodist Episcopal Alliance.

American Association of Retired Persons.

American Institute of Architects, Metropolitan Washington Chapter.

American Veterans Committee.

Architect of the Capitol.

ARFAX C. 3. Radio Club.

Association of Oldest Inhabitants.

Beta Sigma Phi Sorority of Belair, Bowie, Md.

Bethesda-Chevy Chase Rotary Club.

B'nai B'rith.

B'nai B'rith Women.

Board of Trade, Metropolitan Washington.

Catholic Club of Georgetown.

Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.

Civitan Club of Hyattsville.

Connecticut Avenue Citizens Association.  
Council of Churches of Greater Washington.

District of Columbia Department of Buildings and Grounds.

District of Columbia Department of Vocational Rehabilitation.

Episcopal Diocese of Washington.

Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs, District of Columbia.

Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs, Silver Springs.

Federation of Citizens Associations.

Federation of Civic Associations.

General Services Administration, Region 3.  
Health and Welfare Council.

Homemakers Clubs of Prince George's County.

Hot Shoppes.

Hotel Association of Washington, D.C.

Howard University.

Junior League of Washington.

Indoor Sports Club, Inc., of Washington, D.C.

Kiwanis Club of Washington.

Methodist Churches of the Washington Districts.

Minute Women of Prince George's County.

Multiple Sclerosis Association of Greater Washington.

Multiple Sclerosis National Society, Washington, D.C. Chapter.

Muscular Dystrophy Association of America, Inc. Greater Washington Chapter.

National Association of the Physically Handicapped.

NAPH Nation's Capital Chapter.

National Paraplegia Foundation, National Capital Area Chapter.

NOR-VA Cedarettes.

Opening Doors.

Paralyzed Veterans of America.

PVA Capital Area Chapter.

Physical Medicine & Rehabilitation Department of Georgetown University Hospital & Student Rehabilitation Nurses.

Restaurant Association of Metropolitan Washington, Inc.

Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Washington.

Smithsonian Institution.

United Cerebral Palsy of Washington, D.C.

VOICE.

Washington Building Congress.

#### FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THIS DIRECTORY

Single copies of this booklet are available at 25 cents each to cover handling and postage. Bulk copies are available at a discount price. Write to:

The District of Columbia Society for Cripple Children, 2800 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20009.

The Maryland Society for Crippled Children and Adults, 9422 Annapolis Road, Lanham, Md.

Northern Virginia Society for Crippled Children and Adults, 3501 Columbia Pike, Arlington, Va.

#### TO LIST A FACILITY

Anyone wishing to have a facility listed in the next edition of this publication should write to: The District of Columbia Society for Crippled Children, at the above address, with information concerning parking, curb height, steps, inside accessibility, and, in appropriate cases (hotels, motels, apartments, etc.) information on bathroom facilities: stalldoor widths, basin heights, etc.

Accessible and usable buildings will help over 202,000 persons in the metropolitan area who are over 65 years old; plus approximately 50,000 with heart ailments; 3,500 wearing leg braces or artificial limbs; 3,000, not in institutions, who are confined to wheelchairs; added thousands who, due to polio, multiple sclerosis or cerebral damage, cannot balance well enough to go up or down a curb or steps safely; and thousands more

submitted to 15 years of attack by the FDA without ever being charged in a court where he could defend himself on the merits of the case. Fredericks said he gained his doctor's degree from NYU despite alleged attempts by FDA to discourage the faculty from making the award. Over the years his broadcasting career had been injured by a barrage of news releases from FDA's public relations office calling him "incompetent," Fredericks said, and pointed out that FDA had seized copies of his books from a small vitamin manufacturer when the books were used to instruct salesmen.

In his final statement, Senator Long said, "An agency of the Federal Government has been accused of obtaining evidence at any price. . . . FDA prior to this hearing has been uncooperative with this congressional committee. . . . We've never before had to subpoena Government agents." Long also said that "If the FDA spent less time spying on and raiding churches and small manufacturers of vitamins, and more time looking into the large firms which manufacture dangerous drugs like thalidomide, the situation would be greatly improved."

#### ARCHITECTS WAGE "WAR ON URBAN UGLINESS"

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the architects of America are being called on to a greater extent than ever before to assist local, State, and Federal officials responsible for providing a proper physical environment for the people of this Nation. In a statement before my Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, the American Institute of Architects reiterated its long-standing support for the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, stating:

The problems of urban America are so complex and numerous that they have already exceeded the abilities of many communities to cope with them. The Institute believes that their solution requires a coordinated attack by today's society in which the Federal Government's responsibility is undertaken by a Cabinet Rank Department.

Recently the President and Secretary of Interior asked the architects of America to assist in the effort to clean up and beautify the Potomac River.

I understand that the New York chapter of the institute will offer a resolution at the coming national convention of the AIA to establish a standing committee on the natural environment. The concern and interest of the architects is an encouraging sign that we will win the battle against blight and pollution and the other environmental scars of our Nation. I ask unanimous consent to include at this point in the RECORD a copy the resolution referred to.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### RESOLUTION TO ESTABLISH A STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS

Whereas this region, and this country, must respond to the rise in urban population by providing shelter, workspace and transportation equal to this tremendous increase; and

Whereas the aim of the architect is to conserve intelligently and creatively while building intelligently, whereas the failure to preserve natural areas is virtually irretrievable, and whereas the architect believes

that landscape is the necessary counterpoint to the cityscape:

Therefore this resolution moves to establish a standing committee of the chapter, to be called the committee on the natural environment and further sets forth the purposes of this committee would be—

To reassert and amplify the position that the informed concern of the architect is for the total environment of man, and for all elements of the scene and of the natural environment—of air, water, and land as well as for the urban scene;

To seek to make policymakers fully conscious of the need to consider the esthetics of the natural environment and to be aware of the contribution which the design profession can make in this regard;

To foster studies of programs and techniques for identifying and preserving the remnants of the national inheritance and of restoring natural environments, particularly those in or near urban areas;

To raise the collective voice and to use the influence of the architect in support of those forces working toward eradication of air and water pollution and toward esthetically acceptable solutions to solid wastes disposal;

To establish permanent personal liaison with the guiding minds of all organizations concerned with the natural environment so as to engender an exchange of ideas, to foster working relationships and to develop action programs for the consideration of this chapter;

To seek to join with other chapters and with the other design professions—landscape architects, planners, industrial designers, and engineers—in initiating a full scale program of research to creatively deal with the outrages of signscape, junkscape, wire-scape, wastescape, dozerscape, silt-scape, and all other visual desecrations of the natural environment;

To actively seek philanthropic funds for the establishment of staffed programs concerned with the matters herein set forth—either on a permanent or task force basis; and it is further

Resolved, That these matters be brought before the forthcoming convention of the institute for consideration by the national body; and it is also resolved that the institute be urged to expand the war on urban ugliness program to include suburbia, ex-urbia, and rural and wild America.

#### SIXTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, today, May 20, we celebrate the 63d anniversary of the establishment of the Cuban Republic.

It is a day that is celebrated by all people and by all the freedom loving citizens of the Americas.

It is one of the great tragedies of history that the Cuban people, who fought so heroically and sacrificed so much to win their freedom from Spanish imperial rule, should now be oppressed by an infinitely more ruthless and inhuman form of colonialism.

There are those who say that it is wrong for America to intervene in Cuba, even to the limited extent of granting tolerance to the thousands of Cuban freedom fighters who are working for the liberation of their country from abroad. They say that if the Cuban people want communism, that is their business.

I find it difficult to understand the blindness and the total lack of humani-

tarian feeling or morality suggested by this attitude.

The Castro regime did not come into existence because the Cuban people wanted communism. The fact is that the Cuban people were never given this option—and if they had been given this option I am certain that they would have rejected communism overwhelmingly.

The Cuban people wanted more liberty, they wanted an end to the abuses that had characterized the Batista regime, they wanted a return to constitutional democratic government.

It was these things and not communism that Castro promised the Cuban people.

And if Castro enjoyed a brief period of popularity after he came to power, it was because the Cuban people truly believed that he was going to give them freedom and democracy.

But it soon became apparent, even to those who had doubted, that the Castro movement was neither nationalist nor democratic, that it was controlled by a small number of hard core Communists, bent on converting Cuba into a totalitarian satellite of world communism.

The Cuban people soon came to realize, too, that the Castro regime was not a reform movement, but a quivering tyranny created by the Kremlin as a base for the subversion of Latin America.

The 200,000 Cuban refugees who abandoned everything they possessed to escape from Castro's paradise, attest to the intense hatred of the Cuban people for this regime of oppression and misery and national treason.

The thousands of Cuban patriots who are fighting in the mountains, in open defiance of Castro's firing squads, also attest to this.

Every day witnesses new acts of resistance by the Cuban people, while new guerrilla bands and new resistance leaders continue to spring up to take the place of those who have fallen in the struggle.

The recent events in the Dominican Republic should be an adequate answer to those who, while they do not like Castro, tell us that Castro should be regarded as a nuisance rather than a dagger at our throats.

Only the courageous and resolute action of President Johnson prevented the emergence of a second Castro regime in the Caribbean. I believe this is now realized by the great majority of the Latin American diplomats stationed in Santo Domingo and by the great majority of the governments of the Americas.

But, even though the Communists have been frustrated in the Dominican Republic, the danger to the security and independence of the Latin American countries will remain serious so long as the Castro regime is permitted to exist.

Communists never give up unless they are decisively defeated. The setback in Santo Domingo will not discourage Castro. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that his apparatus of trained agents and guerrilla fighters is even now planning more uprisings in other Latin American countries.

As I have stated on previous occasions, I believe we have been too passive in our



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I want to assure my colleagues that good progress is being made in resource development in my home State of Wisconsin.

In a policy statement of the National Farmers Union last March it was contended that almost two-thirds of our cropland can constructively use conservation treatment. Furthermore, three-fourths of our privately owned pasture and rangeland and more than half of our private forests can benefit from conservation treatment. Pollution of streams and siltation of resources are commonplace.

The National Farmers Union urges the Federal Government to get on more rapidly with the soil and water conservation work in America. I ask unanimous consent that the policy statement of the National Farmers Union be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPT FROM 1965 POLICY STATEMENT OF NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

#### AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION AND LAND USE

Technical assistance in soil and water conservation should continue to be extended through local soil conservation districts, governed by democratically elected committees. The conservation needs inventory established the fact that our investment in conservation—both public and private—is running only at one-third of the desired level of \$2.5 billion annually. Almost two-thirds of our cropland needs conservation treatment. Three-fourths of our privately owned pasture and rangeland and more than one-half of our private forest and woodland needs conservation treatment. Pollution of streams and siltation of reservoirs are commonplace.

Federal cost sharing with farmers is a major incentive, in the effort to meet the need for conservation of those resources. It produces conservation far beyond its public cost. We support, therefore, increasing funds for the SCS and ACP in keeping with conservation needs inventory.

The Great Plains conservation program has been in use long enough to prove its value in achieving land use adjustment and the conservation of land and water. We recommend that its principles be extended to include all agricultural land in the United States.

#### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND COST SHARING

Each family farmer and rancher should have conveniently available to him competent federally financed technical assistance and adequate cost-sharing programs needed by him to develop and put into operation his own technically sound conservation plan, so that he may use each acre of his farmland within its capabilities and treat it in accordance with its need for protection and improvement including all the soil, water and timber resources upon which his family's livelihood and the Nation's long-term security depend.

We are unalterably opposed to the Budget Bureau proposal for Congress to authorize a revolving fund through which soil conservation districts and farmers and ranchers would pay the Federal Government a part of the costs of technical assistance.

#### EXTENSION OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE TO NEEDY BLIND AND DISABLED PERSONS—RESOLUTION OF WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, recently the Wisconsin Legislature passed

a joint resolution asking Congress to broaden the provisions of the Kerr-Mills Act, Public Law 86-778.

The resolution would extend medical assistance to needy persons who are blind and disabled, even though they are under 65 years of age.

I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 9

Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to amend the Kerr-Mills Act, Public Law 86-778

*Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring).* That this legislature respectfully petitions the Congress of the United States to amend the Kerr-Mills Act, Public Law 86-778, to include medical assistance to needy persons who are blind or disabled even though under 65 years of age; be it further

*Resolved,* That a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of the Congress from this State.

PA' RICK J. SERCEY,  
President of the Senate.  
WILLIAM P. NUGENT,  
Chief Clerk of the Senate.  
ROBERT T. HUBER,  
Speaker of the Assembly.  
JAMES S. BUCKLEY,  
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

#### BIG BROTHER—SENATE INVESTIGATION OF TACTICS OF HEALTH LAW ENFORCERS

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, my "Big Brother" item today is a very good review in Health Bulletin, of May 1, 1965, of our hearings on invasions of privacy by the Food and Drug Administration.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SENATE INVESTIGATIONS EXAMINERS TACTICS OF HEALTH LAW ENFORCERS

Does the Food and Drug Administration take out after food supplement sellers and supposed health quacks with methods that trample on citizens' constitutional rights? The Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, headed by Senator Edward V. Long, is taking a close look at that question in a series of hearings, which started this week.

Spokesmen for the vitamin and food supplement industry told the Senators that FDA is opposed to all dietary supplementation as superfluous and unneeded, even though Government studies indicate that many families do not have diets considered best for the maintenance of good health and physical well-being. They objected to FDA's use of listening devices, concealed radio transmitter and what they called discriminatory enforcement methods against food supplement sellers. K. W. Dilling, an attorney and general counsel for the National Association of Food Supplement Manufacturers and Distributors also scored FDA's efforts to brand dietary supplementation as "quackery" or "food faddism." "Notably absent has been any FDA publicity deploring extensive use of cigarettes, soft drinks, alcoholic beverages, candy, and other items which make no contribution to the national

health, and which in fact are often harmful," Dilling said.

Ellis Arnall, former Governor of Georgia and chief witness during the first day of hearings, submitted documents to support a charge that "The Food and Drug Administration is corrupt; they contaminate and they have lied in court." He introduced documents to support his contention. The charge of perjury was made primarily against Glenn E. Schreiber, an FDA inspector who Arnall claims lied 28 times under oath during proceedings brought against Presto Foods, Inc., of Kansas City.

Five officials of FDA are appearing before the committee this week. Senator Long requested the hearing because FDA's Kansas City office employed concealed electronic recording devices in an attempt to secure evidence of mislabeling of Presto Foods' Allerjoy, a product sold as a milk substitute for children and adults allergic to milk. FDA Commissioner George P. Larrick told the committee that his agency uses electronic transmitting and recording equipment to enforce laws against sales of amphetamines and barbiturates. "Radio transmitters are used also to enable us to follow the progress of our own undercover man and determine when his life is in danger because of the character of the individuals he must contact to detect law violations," Larrick told Long.

The Kansas City case required that FDA inspector Schreiber seize a pamphlet about Allerjoy from two lady schoolteachers who allegedly were demonstrating it in a supermarket at Shawnee Village, Kans. "In view of the simplicity of this case, I can't see the need for use of electronic equipment and Gestapo tactics," Long commented.

The electronic gear in question—that used in the Kansas City seizure—is known as a Kel-Kit unit. It consists of a wireless transmitter about the size of a package of cigarettes, which broadcasts monitored conversations to a receiver and tape recorder concealed in a briefcase. In his appearance before the subcommittee, Dilling gave this opinion of the use of recording devices by FDA: "This is trampling upon traditional American rights. The planting of these devices is thoroughly un-American and thoroughly reprehensible." In answer to a question by Senator Long, Dilling said that "the use of 'snooping devices' is a very common practice of this agency \* \* \* sometimes they 'bug' a whole house. \* \* \* It's been my experience in dealing with FDA cases that the use of these devices is extensive, general, and accepted by this agency." Dilling's testimony came in the face of A. E. Rayfield's contention that FDA uses electronic recording equipment only in extreme situations. Rayfield is Director of the Bureau of Regulatory Compliance.

During the 3 days of hearings, Long's committee also heard testimony from Oscar H. Brinkman, attorney for Washington's Church of Scientology and from Wayne Rohrer, the church's minister. Brinkman attacked the FDA for seizing a religious machine which he said merely measured emotional reactions. At the same time FDA condoned dangerous use of electric shock devices by psychiatrists, Brinkman said, even though they had led to some people being electrocuted. Brinkman told Long that Federal officials accompanied by 6 to 10 or more armed U.S. marshals swarmed the church, grabbed books from the hands of students and ministers, broke into confessional rooms, and invaded the privacy of ministers. He said that FDA had not previously requested that use of the machine be halted.

On Thursday Senator Long and nutritionist Carlton Fredericks said that FDA concentrates on small companies and persons with unusual approaches to disease and goes easier on big companies. Fredericks told the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee studying invasion of private rights that he had been

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attitude toward the Castro regime. We have been too prone to accept its existence as permanent, too willing to place restrictions on Cuban freedom fighters seeking the liberation of their country.

It is my hope that the current events in the Dominican Republic will cause the people of the Americas to open their eyes, and encourage them to more resolute measures and to greater unity in dealing with the common menace of Castrolism.

It is my hope that the governments of the Americas will see fit to commit themselves to a declaration of freedom and independence for the Cuban people.

It is my hope that the free world nations now trading with Cuba will give more consideration to the fact that their trade makes it easier for Castro to keep the Cuban people in chains.

Finally, it is my hope that we will show at least as much tolerance toward Cuban freedom fighters seeking to operate from our shores as we showed for the agents of the Castro movement who used the United States as their chief base of operation when they were working for the overthrow of Batista.

Castro must go. And I am as confident as I am of anything that the day is not too far distant when the Cuban people—hopefully with our assistance—will toss Fidel Castro and his quisling henchmen into the dust bin of history, to join the many other tyrants and despots who have been discarded by people who suffered much but who one day decided they would no longer tolerate tyranny.

I hope that we in America, in observing this occasion will commit ourselves anew to the support of the Cuban people in the heroic struggle they are today waging for liberation from the monstrously inhuman regime that governs their country.

## BANK MERGER ACT

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, this morning Reno Odlin, president of the American Bankers Association, and chairman of the board of the Puget Sound National Bank, of Tacoma, Wash., appeared and spoke in support of Senate bill 1698, before the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions, of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. His complete and illuminating statement shows the confusion and controversy which now exist in the field of bank mergers, and explains the reason why enactment of my bill, S. 1698, to amend the Bank Merger Act, is needed in order to clear up the situation.

I ask unanimous consent to have his statement printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## STATEMENT OF RENO ODLIN

My name is Reno Odlin. I am president of the American Bankers Association and chairman of the board of the Puget Sound National Bank, Tacoma, Wash. I am appearing here today on behalf of the association in support of S. 1698, a bill designed to eliminate the confusion and chaos surrounding the whole question of bank mergers.

Before making specific comments on the bill under consideration, it might be well to take a brief look at some of the economic factors that have prompted mergers in all lines of business and commerce since World War II.

One of the prime reasons for mergers is the lack of qualified successor management. Many industries were not hiring new employees during the 1930's because they didn't need them. They didn't hire them during the war years because they couldn't get them. As a result some companies lacked depth in management and when it came time for top executives to retire there were not enough capable and experienced men coming along behind them. Many smaller companies solved this problem through mergers with larger firms that had larger pools of talent. This same pattern held true in banking and prompted many mergers.

The second major reason for bank mergers was directly related to the dynamic performance of the economy. In the past two decades, the economy, measured in terms of output of goods and services, generally referred to as the gross national product, has grown by 192 percent, reaching an annual rate of \$623 billion at the end of 1964. But while GNP was rising by 192 percent, commercial and industrial loans were increasing by 480 percent, rising to more than \$55 billion in mid-1964. Domestic private investment during the same 20-year period rose by 750 percent to nearly \$88 billion at the end of 1964. Over the two decades, expenditures for plant and equipment jumped by 470 percent.

The rapid increase in economic activity caused a quickened rate of growth in the size of many corporations which in turn put pressure on banks for more diversified services. As credit demands of corporations grew, some smaller banks began to feel the restrictions on their lending limits and decided that mergers would enable them to increase their lending capacities.

The third element encouraging mergers has been the efforts of commercial banks to meet the financial needs of the American public during a period of expansion and rapidly changing economic and population patterns. These developments have resulted in a huge demand for a growing variety of bank services, particularly those oriented toward consumers which involve high-volume operations. For example, some mergers have occurred as a result of two small or medium-sized banks desiring to obtain the modern and expensive electronic data-processing equipment that has spread so rapidly in banking in the past decade.

Finally, some bank mergers have occurred in recent years as a result of the efforts of the bank regulatory agencies to prevent a bank suspension. These so-called "shotgun mergers" can do much to preserve the stability and strength of the banking system. But it should be obvious that the management of any bank approached by the regulatory authorities with a request that it absorb a weak bank in the community would be very reluctant to do so if the merger might be subsequently challenged in the courts on the grounds of competition alone.

Those of us who make our living in banking, as well as experienced observers of the banking scene, know full well that competition in banking—and between banks and other financial institutions—is stronger today than at any time in the past.

It is my own judgment that on balance the many bank mergers in the postwar period, rather than diminishing competition, have in fact led to increased competition, both among banks and between banks and other types of financial institutions.

## BACKGROUND OF THE BANK MERGER ACT

In 1950, section 7 of the Clayton Act was amended to prohibit mergers through asset acquisition as well as stock acquisition in

any line of commerce in any section of the country where the result could tend to reduce competition substantially. The amendment, however, covered only corporations under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission. Banks have never been under the jurisdiction of the FTC.

During the 1950's, as the number of bank mergers increased, the Justice Department sought legislation to subject banks to the new section 7 of the Clayton Act. The Justice Department wanted the change because it recognized that it lacked authority under section 7 of the Clayton Act as amended. Moreover, until recently, it was almost universally believed that bank mergers would not be subject to section 1 of the Sherman Act.

Congress flatly rejected these proposals of the Justice Department to make section 7 of the Clayton Act applicable to bank mergers. But, at the same time, Congress saw the need for legislation to establish clear and uniform standards governing bank mergers, and it saw the need to specify which agency of Government should have the final authority over bank mergers—the Justice Department or the three Federal bank supervisory authorities.

The Bank Merger Act of 1960 was intended to answer both requirements. The act gave the final authority over bank mergers to the three bank supervisory agencies—the Federal Reserve System for State member banks, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for insured nonmember banks, and the Comptroller of the Currency for national banks. Under the legislation the banking agency having jurisdiction is required to request a report on the competitive aspects of a merger under consideration from the Justice Department. The agency having jurisdiction is also required to request reports on competitive factors from the other two banking agencies.

The competitive factor is then weighed along with such factors as the financial history and condition of the banks involved, the adequacy of their capital structures, the general character of the banks' management, and the convenience and needs of the community to be served. The agencies are required to reject any merger application if, after giving full consideration to all such factors, they do not find the transaction to be in the public interest.

In passing the Bank Merger Act, Congress decided that the public interest is best served by subjecting bank mergers to a balanced test of competition and protection of sound banking rather than to the single test of competition under the antitrust standards.

I don't think the intent of Congress could have been stated more clearly than it was at the time the Bank Merger Act was passed. Senator FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, who was chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee when the bill was brought to a vote on the floor of the Senate, said, "As it passed the Senate, S. 1062 (the Bank Merger Act) expressed the view of the Senate, for the third time, that bank mergers should be regulated by the Federal banking agencies on the basis of banking factors and the competitive factors, with no single factor being controlling. S. 1062 was a clear statement, for the third time, of the Senate's view that the provisions of section 7 of the Clayton Act should not apply to bank mergers."

The Senator went on to point out that "the amendments to S. 1062 made by the House do not change this aspect of the bill. The House has agreed with the Senate that bank mergers should be controlled by the Federal banking agencies on the basis of both banking factors and competitive factors, and that section 7 of the Clayton Act should continue to be inapplicable to bank mergers."

The intent of the bill was also stated by the majority leader of the Senate, Lyndon B.

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Johnson, who inserted the following statement into the Record just before the bill passed:

"This bill establishes uniform and clear standards, including both banking and competitive factors, for the consideration of proposed bank mergers. It eliminates a number of gaps in the statutory framework, which now permit many bank mergers to occur with no review by any Federal agency. It provides for a thorough review by the appropriate Federal bank supervisory agency, under these comprehensive standards, and with the benefit of any information which may be supplied by the Department of Justice in the report required from them, of the bank mergers by asset acquisition and other means which are now and will continue to be exempt from the antimerger provisions of section 7 of the Clayton Antitrust Act."

The majority leader added: "The repeated improvements [in this bill] . . . show the real merits, the real benefits of the legislative process at its best."

The intent of Congress in passing the Bank Merger Act was very clear. Yet, in June of 1963, following 2 years of litigation, the Supreme Court in ruling on a merger of two banks in Philadelphia which had been approved by the Comptroller of the Currency, said the merger violated section 7 of the Clayton Act.

Justice Harlan, who disagreed with the majority, said, "I suspect that no one will be more surprised than the Government to find that the Clayton Act carried the day for its case in court. The result is, of course, that the Bank Merger Act is almost completely nullified; its enactment turns out to have been an exorbitant waste of congressional time and energy. This frustration of a manifest congressional design is, in my view, a most unwarranted intrusion upon the legislative domain."

Subsequently, the Supreme Court ruled that two banks in Lexington, Ky., which had merged in accordance with the provisions of the Bank Merger Act were in violation of the Sherman Act. Then in March 1965, a Federal district court in New York ruled that the Manufacturers Trust Co. and the Hanover Bank violated both the Clayton Act and the Sherman Act when they merged in 1961, after they had received the approval of the Federal Reserve Board.

On the basis of these rulings the Department of Justice could now challenge all of the more than 2,000 bank mergers which have been consummated since the Clayton Act was amended in 1960.

## THE PURPOSE OF S. 1698

Obviously, there is a clear need for the legislation that is now before this committee. The ground rules governing bank mergers must be reaffirmed and the dark clouds of confusion must be removed from the numerous bank mergers that have been consummated in good faith under the law of the land.

S. 1698 would serve both of these purposes. It would place bank mergers virtually in the same category as mergers in other highly regulated industries.

There is no question that the banking industry is one of the most tightly regulated industries in the Nation. Before a bank is even chartered, the banking agencies must be assured that such a bank, if chartered, would meet the needs and convenience of the community. The agencies must also determine that the bank, if chartered, will have a reasonable chance of succeeding. A bank is not comparable to other businesses and it is viewed differently by the public at large. When a bank fails, repercussions are felt throughout the community. Last year, there were 13,501 business failures. This figure is about average. Yet when eight banks with total deposits amounting to eight one-thousandths of 1 percent of all bank deposits

failed in 1964, it made headlines and led to a congressional investigation, with which, incidentally, we have indicated our full cooperation. In short, a single bank failure is cause for concern because of the human and economic problems it creates for the community. That is why entry into the banking business is controlled.

Once a charter is granted to a bank, the bank becomes subject to very strict regulations which prescribe the amount a bank may lend to an individual or a corporation, how much it can pay in interest to attract deposits, how much it must maintain in cash reserves, and a host of other limitations. In fact, regulations pervade the whole spectrum of bank operations. Through periodic examinations, bank supervisory agencies make sure that the regulations are observed.

By using these tools—regulation and examination—bank supervisory authorities can control competition in banking on a continuing basis to make sure the system is sound and the public interest is protected.

Mr. Chairman, the American Bankers Association contends that the intimate working knowledge of banking gained by the supervisors in their daily association with banks is essential in regulating competition in banking. It is also our contention that this know-how is basic in considering the merits of bank mergers. Therefore, we are in full support of S. 1698 which would place bank mergers under the jurisdiction of the three Federal bank supervisory agencies.

The Justice Department would still play an advisory role in that the banking agency having jurisdiction would have to request a report on the competitive aspects of any merger under consideration. The banking agency would also have to request reports on competitive factors from the other two banking agencies.

But the first provision of S. 1698 would give the Federal bank supervisory agencies the final authority over bank mergers, which was what Congress intended when it passed the Bank Merger Act in 1960. It would exempt bank mergers from the provisions of the Sherman Act and section 7 of the Clayton Act.

## THE QUESTION OF UNMERGING BANKS

The second provision of S. 1698 is designed to prevent the courts from breaking up mergers that were consummated under appropriate regulatory authority. Five mergers are now in the courts. Over 2,000 others could be challenged by the Department of Justice under the Supreme Court's interpretation of the antitrust laws.

"Unmerging" a bank after the two banks have operated as a single unit is nightmarish even in the abstract. The relationship between a depositor or borrower and his bank is based on mutual confidence and trust. In many cases, corporations and individuals select a particular bank because the bank offers the exact combination of services needed. This is particularly true when trust services are involved.

If a bank were to unmerge, internal working efficiency would be shattered. The customer, who has not been given much consideration in this whole question, would then be faced with the decision of which one of the two "unmerged" banks he would patronize. If the relationship is broken, the customer may decide that he does not want to get his business mixed up in the unscrutinizing process and select neither of the two unmerged banks but a different bank, and in all probability, a larger one.

If this pattern of shifting to a larger bank in lieu of the unmerged banks prevailed, what effect would this have on competition? Instead of increasing competition, it is likely that unmerging of banks would lead to an increase in concentration in banking. This cannot be in the public interest.

Few observers believe the Justice Department would attempt to break up the 2,000-

odd bank mergers that have taken place since 1950. It would certainly create chaos in the financial system. But here again the question is one of equity and fair play. Should the Justice Department question some mergers and not others when they were approved by the same Federal authorities under the same law? After all we boast loud and long about being a government of laws and not of men.

The American Bankers Association strongly urges that all bank mergers which have been consummated, after receiving the approval of appropriate regulatory authorities, including those now being challenged in courts, be permitted to stand.

## CONCLUSION

The executive council of the American Bankers Association, the ruling body of the association with members representing all divisions, sections, and committees of the ABA and all States in the Union, unanimously supports S. 1698. I request permission to insert the resolution in the record of these hearings. Many State bankers associations have taken similar action and indications are that others will do the same. Mr. Chairman, these actions by the ABA, which represents 98 percent of the Nation's commercial banks, plus the support coming from State bankers associations, demonstrate without doubt that the banking industry favors this legislation.

In our judgment, the present state of confusion in the field of bank mergers must be eliminated so that bankers can get back to their main task—meeting fully and efficiently the financial needs of the American economy. S. 1698 can clarify the whole situation and I urge its prompt passage. Thank you very much.

## SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POLICIES ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, it is encouraging to see large segments of the American press underscore the wide acceptance and approval of our President's policies in southeast Asia. It is encouraging to see many newspapers spread the message which is so essential; namely, that the United States of America seeks peace, and is anxious to help the people of South Vietnam and all other peoples of southeast Asia, to raise their heads and their standard of living.

Last Thursday, America's policies were again effectively enunciated by President Johnson, who, in speaking to a national television audience, gave the message that we will meet force with force, as we must, in order to restore peace and order, though we remain ever willing to take part in unconditional talks aimed at settlement of the war in southeast Asia.

I ask unanimous consent that editorials commenting on President Johnson's speech, from the Cincinnati Enquirer, the Washington Evening Star, and the Washington Daily News, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer, May 14, 1965]

## L.B.J. GOES TO THE PEOPLE

President Johnson, in his televised speech on Thursday, was dueling with left-leaning intellectuals for support by the people of his policies in Vietnam.

Mr. Johnson, harkening back to the days of Theodore Roosevelt's big stick and soft

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sistent with an intensified effort to provide more assistance for farmers, regardless of whether they happen to be Negro or white.

In checking out the technical assistance effort, AFA's directors determined that about one-third of agricultural land in need of treatment has received assistance. In many cases lands so assisted have been owned by knowledgeable educated people. The really big job with farmers less knowledgeable still lies ahead. With the better farmlands owned by the most knowledgeable farmers now able to serve as models for others less fortunate, now is obviously the time to move forward, not backward.

Contrary to prevailing thought in some areas—and this is partly due to an excess of zeal on the part of conservationists in overselling their product—the soil, water, and forestry job on millions of farm and other acres will never be ended and it is time we started facing up to that fact. Changing ownership patterns are partly responsible. For instance, when a farmer with 300 acres buys the adjoining farm of 200 acres, a new management program and many adjustments are frequently required. Thus the best farmers require continuing assistance as well as those less fortunate. But the big job ahead is with the less fortunate.

AFA agrees with the views expressed by Marlon S. Monk in his article, "The \$20 Million Footnote," starting on page 24 of this issue. Mr. Monk lists five basic reasons why the Bureau of Budget proposal is a "bombshell" to conservation: (1) It undermines confidence in the Government's conservation purpose; (2) it would weaken local leadership; (3) it would break faith with State and local governments; (4) the revolving fund proposed would treat landowners unfairly by penalizing those least capable financially to move ahead; and (5) the proposal would blunt and seriously slow down existing programs in which individual landowners are already paying the lion's share of the cost.

AFA agrees with Mr. Monk. The Bureau of the Budget has been ill-advised in this case. At the same time conservation, in shouldering part of the blame for this proposal, should start tempering its claims. The art of understatement as best exemplified by the late John F. Kennedy may yet prove to have been his greatest bequest to the American people. We all brag too much. We are all guilty of "Madisonavenulizing" our conservation efforts. Without necessarily meaning to, we not infrequently give the impression of having achieved total success when our efforts, in reality, are only well started.

A case in point is forest growth. One questions the wisdom of headlining the fact that forest growth now exceeds forest drain without giving the same emphasis to the fact that our supply of larger trees and quality timber is rapidly declining and that we may have to import wood in years to come. In a country this size with its immense geographical growth range there is no excuse for the declining quality of our trees or the fact that some species, such as quality walnut, may even face extinction unless we double our present efforts.

Keeping the Kennedy gift for understatement in mind, it would seem this Nation is now mature enough to face reality without everlasting gilding the lily. We have not licked our forestry problems. We have not licked our soil erosion problems. We have not licked our wildlife problems. In all probability we will never completely lick them and we would be well advised to say so more frequently. Too much success must never be permitted to dull the cutting edge of gradual and never-ending conservation advance nor should people and particularly Government officials be lulled by success stories that should more appropriately be labeled "limited advance" at best.

In our opinion, the "Bennett success story" in checking soil erosion and similar buildings were clearcut examples of too much glorification and too much mythmaking at the expense of too many acres yet to be saved. The proposal by a responsible agency of Government to lop \$20 million off the technical aid effort bears out our point.

Let conservationists always remember that the real glory of the conservation effort in America is not the unusual men who lead its programs or the banner headlines in the press but the application of conservation measures to the land by thousands of unsung professionals and technicians. Let us always look to the land itself for the story of our modest successes and bitter failures. There we will find the stark truth, the real chronicle of conservation.

## CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, it was just 63 years ago on this day that the flag of independent Cuba first waved over a free land and a proud people. Today, that land and that people are no longer free, independent, or proud. Instead, the descendants of the patriots who cheered when their flag was first raised in 1902, now find themselves wallowing in the morass of Communist domination.

It is paradoxical, I think, that our Nation played such a significant role in paving the way for the free flag of Cuba to first fly and, at the same time, must assume a sizable share of the responsibility for the fact that that flag no longer flies over the homeland. Tragically, by our failure at the Bay of Pigs, the people of this brave land must now suffer the heavy hand of a psychotic dictator who has dedicated himself to wiping out the concept of freedom, not only in Cuba, but also in the rest of Latin America.

I can only commend President Johnson for the speed and decisiveness of his recent action in the Dominican Republic, for, without that kind of action, our Nation would undoubtedly by now be faced with another Communist regime in this hemisphere. It has been documented that 58 known Communists were originally and openly associated with the rebellion; and the program and policies projected by the original leadership follow a line dangerously similar to that used by Castro in 1959. In addition, the forces under the domination of this group were equipped to a large extent with Cuban arms.

We can expect, I also believe, that other areas will become pawns in this effort by the Communist bloc to try to dilute the effectiveness of our progressive escalation tactics in Vietnam. Already it is reported that trouble spots are brewing in other Latin American countries, again with Cuba as the immediate source of inspiration and arms, and with Moscow and Peking in the background.

There is every indication that our Nation has no intention of withdrawing any significant number of our troops from the Dominican Republic until we are assured that a democratic government is actually established there—a government of the people, as dedicated as we are to the idea that there will be no more Cubas in this hemisphere. On this policy, I also commend the President, for our purpose in this regard must not be diluted. While

there may still be some immediate problem among our Latin American friends about our action in the Dominican Republic, I am still convinced that in the long run such quick and positive action will reestablish in those neighbors the confidence they lost in our Nation when, by our indecisiveness in 1960, we allowed Cuba to become the invidious threat that it is today.

In closing, I must repeat what I have said many times before: Simply wishing for it will not make Communist Cuba go away. Any attempt to sweep it under the rug will never succeed. It will continue to be a thorn in our side until we are prepared to take the necessary steps to stop it, because only we can supply the leadership which is so necessary in order to coalesce the determination to sweep communism out of this hemisphere.

In this connection, and for purposes of debate, I made suggestions, last year, on two different occasions, as to how we could go about this. Because the problem of Cuba is now increasingly real, I challenge other Senators to pick up the banner with other suggestions and proposals. Only in this way can we hope to see Cuba returned to those who cherish freedom and who take pride in the flag that the United States placed in the hands of the people of Cuba in 1902.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I wish to join several other Senators on this particular day in commemorating the anniversary of Cuban independence. The Cuban people, who were granted their independence by the United States in 1902, continue in their struggle to overcome the many hardships that have been forced upon them in recent years. Since the duly elected Government, headed by Dr. Carlos Príos, gave way to the regime of Major General Batista, in the military coup of March 10, 1952, the Cuban people have suffered one series of heartaches and hardships after another.

One year ago today, I stated that Cuba was an island of horror and a mere shell of what had existed prior to the Castro takeover. Today, that situation remains the same. Cuba is an island fortress whose communistic government has no interest in the welfare of its people, but is, instead, concerned only with increasing its authority over them and with subverting the governments of her sister nations in the Western Hemisphere.

It is no longer necessary to document in detail the charges of Communist subversion in Latin America emanating from Cuba. Those facts have been documented time and time again by a number of unimpeachable sources, such as the Organization of American States, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, and many others. In fact, according to the May 24, 1965, edition of U.S. News & World Report, Communist terrorist activity is now being conducted in 12 of the 20 independent governments of Latin America. These nations are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, and Venezuela. The fact that



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talk, is attempting to prove to Communist aggressors that the United States will meet force with force, that armed conquest is futile and that aggression is not only wrong but will not work.

Opponents of the President's policy are attempting to arouse public opposition to Mr. Johnson's Vietnam policy by marching, picketing and demonstrating.

The Enquirer, on Thursday morning, published on page 1 a picture of an example of this. It was a photograph of some of the hundreds who marched through Washington Wednesday, picketed the Pentagon and conferred with Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. The group pleaded for negotiation, not bombs, to settle the war in Vietnam.

Another example, also a picture, was published in the Enquirer on Tuesday. This was the placard-picketing on Monday of the estate of Dr. Joseph Lusk in Mount Washington when Vice President Humphrey and some 300 Democratic leaders were gathered there.

President Johnson in his Thursday speech, repeated his call for unconditional discussions in quest of a settlement of the war but emphasized also that Red China, which is the agitator behind North Vietnam, is not interested in a fulfillment of a desire by the Vietnamese for nationalism but in gaining control of all of Asia.

The President renewed his pledge to search for every possible path to peace and expressed again his interest in relieving the human needs and improving the lot of the Vietnamese people in their struggle for survival.

There is reason to fear, however well meaning some of those who march against Mr. Johnson may be, that there may be false undercurrent of encouragement for their efforts because those efforts serve our calculating foes rather than the United States.

Returning again to "Teddy" Roosevelt, let us quote:

"Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat." Negotiation, unless it is backed by power, strength, and resolve, is only a show of weakness to a powerful and predatory enemy power. In that context it is in the "gray twilight," to use the first President Roosevelt's words.

President Johnson, we conclude anew from his Thursday remarks, is trying to be a strong President who directs the course of events, rather than allowing them to direct him, in the interests of the safety of the people of this Nation. We believe he is right and we recommend that the people give to him their backing rather than give it to those who would have us lead from weakness rather than strength.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 14, 1965]

## AN EFFECTIVE APPEAL

There are those who think, and perhaps rightly so, that the President is making too many speeches in his attempt to explain, defend, and justify his policies in Vietnam. To some, the personality image which emerges from the television screen is not appealing. In our opinion, however, his televised address to the editorial cartoonists, in terms of content, was effective.

Mr. Johnson began by saying again, without any qualification, that we will not abandon our commitment to South Vietnam. It is desirable to plant this firmly in the minds of the enemy. He also restated his readiness to enter into unconditional discussions for a

settlement of the war. This, too, needs to be stamped indelibly upon the consciousness of friend and foe alike.

Most impressive, however, was the President's enumeration of the material improvements which have been made since 1954 in South Vietnam under what he correctly described as "circumstances of staggering adversity."

Mr. Johnson spelled them out in this fashion: In South Vietnam, always the rice bowl of Asia, rice production has been doubled. A new variety of sweetpotato has been introduced, promising a sixfold yield. Corn output should rise from 25,000 tons in 1962 to 100,000 tons by 1966. Pig production has more than doubled since 1955.

In South Vietnam, where life expectancy is 35 years, there are 200 doctors for 16 million people. In the United States there are 5,000 doctors for an equivalent number. So we are helping to build a medical school which will graduate 200 South Vietnamese doctors each year. More than 12,000 hamlet health stations have been built and stocked. More than 7 million people have been vaccinated against cholera and millions more against other diseases. There has also been much progress in the area of public education. To cite but one illustration, elementary school enrollment has risen from 300,000 in 1955 to more than 1,500,000 today. And, on the business front, a country which was virtually without industry 12 years ago now has more than 700 new or rehabilitated factories. And all of this work has gone on and will go on despite the costly, cruel war and the terroristic tactics of the Vietcong.

This may not be especially impressive in rich, overfed America. But as the message gets through, its import will not be lost upon millions of Asians who are reared in ignorance, racked by disease and whose lives are spent on the razor's edge of starvation. To them, the reference to corn and pigs will not be a joking matter.

The President concluded by saying that when peace finally comes we are ready to share this effort and this progress "with all the people of Vietnam—North and South alike." This was an appropriate note to strike. One must hope it is a note that will be heard in Hanoi.

[From the Washington Daily News, May 14, 1965]

## L.B.J. MAKES HIS CASE ELOQUENTLY

President Johnson never has done a more persuasive job on an issue than he did Thursday in his TV appearance to detail again the whys and hows of United States policy in Vietnam.

Some seem to think the President is making these repeated enunciations of our purpose in Vietnam because a few vociferous professors and others keep ragging him on the subject. L.B.J. isn't going to reverse this particular brand of nonthinking—but addresses such as Thursday's can do a lot to solidify national understanding.

Moreover, this puts it up to the Communists once more. They show no more sign of relenting than the college hecklers. But there are other people in the world who do have open minds.

Our policy, the way Mr. Johnson stated it Thursday, is positive, not merely defensive.

Our preferred priority is on helping the South Vietnamese (and others in southeast Asia) to improve their lot. Since 1954, for instance, rice production has been doubled, new crops introduced, industrial production developed. This all would be much more meaningful, and farther along, except for the Communists who murder and pillage and force the Vietnamese and the United States to concentrate on military defense.

Americans would much rather devote

some of their resources to helping others with their economy and their standard of living. Our heavy expenditures on weapons are not by choice, but through necessity.

All the same, the President is still willing to sit down and talk it out.

The North Vietnamese obviously are hard to convince. Probably because for so many of the years this war has been going on they have been getting off easy, giving them the idea the United States was merely a "paper tiger" and that eventually they could overwhelm the South Vietnamese.

The President's purpose is to disabuse them of both notions—meanwhile being ready to negotiate and even readier to get on with peaceful ways to better life in southeast Asia, a program which would be far more useful to us and to the Asians than fighting.

There is nothing new or strange in this double-edged policy. This is what we did during and after World War II. We went all out to win and when the military job was finished we turned an enormous share of our effort and resources toward peaceful development around the world.

## PROPOSED CUT IN SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS UNWISE

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, in the April issue of American Forests magazine there is an editorial which I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate. The editorial, entitled "Budget's 'Bombshell,'" is in opposition to the \$20 million proposed cut in the appropriations for the Soil Conservation Service.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## BUDGET'S "BOMBHELL"

The Bureau of the Budget has not shown good judgment in cutting the technical assistance program of the Soil Conservation Service by \$20 million. Hearings should be called to give the conservation public an opportunity to be heard on a proposal that would impede the forward advance of an old line and fundamental conservation program if allowed to stand. The proposal should be defeated and, in the light of recent developments, more technical assistance provided for. At a time when new conservation proposals are being heard regarding beautification of America great care must be taken to see to it that basic programs are not damaged in the process.

There are reasons galore why this cut is unwise at this particular time. With new dust storms billowing up in the West this is obviously no time to cut back on the never-ending task of anchoring soil in place. As this magazine has pointed out on more than one occasion many western acres are in a deplorable condition and need help. While recent efforts by a variety of hard-hitting agencies are hopeful signs, this task of land stabilization has to be an across-the-board effort and the Soil Conservation Service program is a basic part of that effort.

A consistent conservation posture on the part of the administration is most important. When an impartial study group recently informed the administration that Negro farmers are getting the short end of the stick on agricultural aid efforts and that something should be done about it, the administration immediately concurred. Something certainly should be done, but a proposal to lop off \$20 million from the technical aid program would not appear to be con-



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much of the support for that Communist terrorist activity comes directly from Cuba has been proven time and again. As recently as 2 days ago, Fidel Castro was bragging of Cuba's power in this regard. In a broadcast address at the graduation ceremonies at Cuba's military academy, Castro said:

Cuba is now a bogey man for the United States. They don't despise Cuba any more; on the contrary, Cuba now inspires in them respect and fear.

These remarks were directed specifically at the recent U.S. involvement in the Dominican Republic situation, and clearly indicate the Castro attitude toward the achievement of peace and stability in this hemisphere.

In the past, we have been told, that communism in Cuba does not present a real danger to the United States, but is, rather, a distasteful nuisance which we must simply accept. The history of subversion and unrest created in other Latin American countries by Castro-trained agents has repeated refuted this argument. Little has been said, however, of subversive activities on the part of the same agents within the United States itself. Now the veil on this topic seems to be lifted. The American Security Council has just published the first part of a two-part series on Castro's subversion in the United States. This study discusses the methods of infiltration, the activities, the scope of the Communist effort, and the successes and failures of the operation to date. In order that this excellent report may be read by all Senators, I request unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CASTRO'S SUBVERSION IN THE UNITED STATES— PART I

British historian and philosopher, Arnold Toynbee, before giving a lecture at the State Department on April 16, 1965, was quoted as saying: "It's hard to understand why you make such a fuss about Castro." And then comparing the United States and Cuba to an elephant and a mouse, he quipped, "It's great fun for the mouse."

Just a week previous to these comments, a CIA report on Cuban subversion was submitted to the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs (Selden committee). The report stated in part that "the Castro regime has in operation (since 1961) a highly professional espionage and subversion agency, the General Directorate of Intelligence (DGI). The DGI is advised by at least five Soviet intelligence specialists. Moreover, one of the purposes of the highly secret meetings of Latin American leaders in Havana last November was to give added impetus to more militant Communist activity in the hemisphere" (WR 65-9).

Castro's DGI is divided into three units, the largest of which masterminds the training, financing and promoting of subversion, and guerrilla warfare in Central and South American countries. Though the CIA report spelled out in detail the degree of the DGI's activities in these areas, it made no mention of its efforts in the United States. Our own investigation attempts in some measure to fill the gap.

#### METHODS OF INFILTRATION

There are two known major points of entry by which covert Castro agents infiltrate into the United States. One is by fishing

boat to Puerto Rico, and then by illegally entering the United States with falsified documents. Congressman WILLIAM CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, in testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security as far back as 2 years ago, said that "in excess of 1,000 people have come through this route into the United States as Puerto Rican citizens with falsified passports."

The other method of infiltration is by boat or plane to Mexico. There the Mexican Communist Party supplies the proper papers and the agent crosses the border at Laredo, Juarez, or Tijuana. Infiltrators from Cuba who enter the United States using either one of these routes, or via Canada, masking their identities by whatever manner, are trained agents whose assignments cover the Marxian spectrum of subversive activities.

#### INDICATION OF ACTIVITIES

On the night of November 16, 1962, the FBI raided a workshop on West 27th Street in New York City. There they seized a secret cache of weapons and explosives which included delayed action incendiary bombs. They also arrested three Castro agents and Roberto Santilesteban Casanova, a newly arrived attaché to the Cuban Mission at the U.N. Two other members of the Cuban Mission, Jose Gomez Abad and his wife, Elsa, were named as fellow conspirators.

The purpose of the weapons and the explosives was "for the sabotaging of defense installations and the demoralization of the civilian population." Attorney General Robert Kennedy said the plan was "aimed at the heart of the internal security of the United States of America."

Four days later, immigration officers in Brownsville, Tex., reported that Mexican authorities had prevented the blowing up of the International Bridge between Brownsville and Matamoros, Mexico. In doing so, they also nipped in the bud a sabotage plan to destroy major buildings in Matamoros. Two of these apprehended were Castro agents.

Since 1962, there have been several allied cases, one taking place in October, 1964, in which a bomb was exploded in the Everglades Hotel in Miami injuring a number of Cuban exiles attending a meeting.

Some months later, a Cuban-terrorist threat to bomb the Roney Plaza Hotel in Miami intimidated the management into cancelling a meeting of this same exile organization.

This threat came on the same day the bomb plot to blow up the Washington Monument, the Statue of Liberty and the Liberty Bell was discovered.

On the surface, this latter episode appeared to be the wild act of a quartet of misguided idiots. But there is sound reason to believe that wild as the attempt was, the four would-be saboteurs were acting under DGI instructions. Leader of the bomb plot, Robert S. Collier, had traveled illegally to Cuba in the summer of 1964. Upon his return, he formed with a number of fellow Cuban travelers a pro-Castro, pro-Peking group which called itself the Black Liberation Front. In December, 1964, a United Nations party was given by the Cuban delegation in honor of its visiting guerrilla expert, Ernesto Che Guevara. At this party, Collier was introduced to Michelle Duclos, member of an extremist separatist organization in Quebec. Later, the plotters bought the dynamite in Canada and it was Miss Duclos who transported the explosives to New York in her car.

These five incidents fall under the heading of terror tactics. That only one of them met with any real degree of success speaks well for the FBI and our law enforcement agencies. However, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, pointed out in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations last year that the efforts of the Castro regime to infiltrate intelligence agents into the United

States "show that we (FBI) must maintain a broad coverage in this area of our operations."

How broad a coverage can be glimpsed by these additional incidents. In early 1963, a Castro agent was apprehended in a New York City apartment possessing a suitcase filled with visa applications and other documents which would aid fellow agents to gain illegal entry into the United States.

From Caracas, Venezuela, in February of this year came news of another type of smuggling operation which again pointed toward the activities of U.S.-based Castro agents. By accident, on board the U.S.S. *Santa Rosa* were found 1,000 mail pouches filled with pro-Castro literature. The literature had been printed in and shipped from Miami, Fla.

Just as Puerto Rico has served as an important way station for Castro agents to enter the United States, it has also served as a transit point for still another sort of smuggling—that of narcotic drugs.

In December 1964 three Castro agents were arrested at Miami Airport—one of them a Cuban, Mario Carabeo Nerey. Treasury officials in Puerto Rico said Carabeo Nerey was engaged in drug traffic. How large the traffic is can be measured by the fact that between January and November 1964, narcotics agents seized 697 pounds of drugs being smuggled into the United States from Cuba. This was an increase of over 450 pounds seized during the previous year. Included in this amount was heroin, shipped to Cuba from Red China.

In January 1965, a New York police inspector, Ira Bluth, was quoted as saying: "Marihuana used to come to New York almost entirely from Mexico, but recently large amounts of the drug have been discovered coming from Cuba."

On January 15, 1965, Oscar H. Reguera and Elidoro Martinez were taken into custody in a New York motel with \$3 million worth of cocaine in their luggage. Martinez is believed to be a Castro agent.

Aside from the obvious harmful effects addiction to these drugs creates, the major purpose behind the smuggling of narcotics into the United States by Castro agents is to raise money to finance an insurrection in Puerto Rico.

Castro's DGI is working in concert with Puerto Rican Communists and militant splinter factions of the Puerto Rican independence movement, accelerating their attacks against the social and governmental structure of the island. Since 1961, a number of Castro-supplied arms caches have been uncovered. Gun battles have been fought between the police and insurrectionists, and Castro agents have infiltrated both exile and student groups, their purpose to stimulate the kind of rioting which would require armed intervention. Should this happen, the cry for independence, which 97 percent of the Puerto Rican electorate rejected in the November 1964 elections, would take on a more critical meaning. This is so because the strategy of the movement is tied directly to the November 20, 1964 vote of the United Nations Committee on Anticolonialism. The Committee voted 17-6, in direct violation of a 1963 General Assembly ruling, to place the demand for Puerto Rican independence on the U.N. agenda (WR 65-4).

This act played directly into the hands of Castro's DGI and Puerto Rican extremists—two of whom are presently members of the Cuban U.N. mission.

When the General Assembly convenes again, there is little doubt that agitation and propaganda will be stepped up in New York and San Juan, with the possibility of more violent actions erupting in Puerto Rico.

#### SCOPE OF THE EFFORT

Recently, the Puerto Rican newspaper *El Mundo* estimated that since 1960, 12,000 Americans and Puerto Ricans have received subversive training in Cuba.

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We cannot attest to the accuracy of the figures nor can we say how many of that number are under the orders of the Cuban Directorate of Intelligence. Although we do not have Castro-trained guerrillas operating in our country as a number of the Latin American countries presently do, we can say that intelligence and law enforcement agencies here and in Puerto Rico take the efforts of the DGI most seriously.

Of course, the publicly known cases outlined in this report can only give an indication of what is afoot. Hoary historians such as Toynbee may look down up the world and view it from the vantage point of centuries. Unfortunately, we who have to live in the world from day to day and face its reality cannot afford cute analogies of mice and elephants with regard to Castro and ourselves.

In part II of "Castro's Subversion in the United States" we will show how Castro's American supporters, by using the techniques of agitation and propaganda; by forming front groups; by infiltrating the civil rights movement; and by attacking our foreign policy are winning important victories in what can best be termed the psychological hot war.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, over the last 2 or 3 years, many concrete and constructive proposals in this field have been made by Members of both Houses of Congress. Unfortunately, the Johnson and Kennedy administrations have chosen to ignore them completely. This is most unfortunate, for the simple fact is that the longer we procrastinate in establishing a specific policy to eliminate communism from this hemisphere, the more difficult it will be to bring about such an accomplishment.

One year ago, I stated that the time was coming very quickly when we would be forced to take more positive action than had theretofore been the case, or else we must stop talking about the preservation of freedom and liberty. In recent weeks, our Government has seen fit to take firm and resolute steps in the Dominican Republic, and in this action has received strong support from the overwhelming majority of the American people and their elected Representatives. This action is, at best, only a stopgap measure, however, for the preservation of freedom in the Dominican Republic, and in itself will have little effect upon the Cuban Communist Government.

The need still exists, and grows more urgent each passing day, for this administration to develop a positive policy with regard to the Castro government, to inform the American people of that policy, and to move resolutely to implement it. We have committed our young men, our national prestige, and our military and economic might to the preservation of liberty in Asia. Just recently, we have shown a willingness to prevent the establishment of a second revolutionary Communist government in Latin America. These are positive steps. Now let us follow through, and assert our leadership in the development and augmentation of a policy not only to stop the growth of communism in the Western Hemisphere, but also to reestablish throughout this hemisphere the right of self-determination. The administration will have my support, as I am certain it will have the wholehearted support of all other Members of Congress, in any

such positive action it undertakes to reinstate freedom and independence to the long-suffering Cubans.

### WHY MUST THE TAXPAYER SUBSIDIZE IMMORALITY?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, an interesting article appeared in the April 1965 issue of the Reader's Digest entitled "Why Must the Taxpayer Subsidize Immorality?" The article was written by Mrs. Juanita Kidd Stout, the first elected Negro woman judge in the United States. I ask unanimous consent that this informative, thought-provoking, and challenging article be included in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Reader's Digest, April 1965 condensed from Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin magazine]

#### WHY MUST THE TAXPAYER SUBSIDIZE IMMORALITY?

(By Juanita Kidd Stout)

During the years I have been a judge in the Philadelphia County Court, I have learned a great deal about people on relief and about the people who hand out their checks. Frequently I have been outraged by both.

Last year there appeared before our court a child of 13 years who shortly was to be delivered of a baby fathered by her uncle. For at least 10 years her family had been on relief—with a succession of men fathering a succession of children. The girl's 14-year-old sister had produced an illegitimate baby at 13; another older sister had borne an illegitimate child at 14.

But nothing had been done by welfare workers to take these girls, their brothers and sisters from their depraved home. In fact, one caseworker had filed a written report with the court stating that the mother was providing a "fairly adequate home" for her seven children.

On another occasion, a young man was brought before me on a charge of not supporting the child he had sired out of wedlock—nor was he contributing anything to the support of his own wife's five children. He had not held a steady job in 10 years and had been on and off the relief rolls. I asked his caseworker if anyone had insisted that this healthy man find work. The answer was, "It is not our job to insist."

I said, "This man has completed 11th grade. He is neither stupid nor incapacitated. In the last 10 years a great deal of grass has grown, a good many snows have fallen. Has no one directed him to a lawn mower, a snow shovel?"

The caseworker said no.

I then told the young man that if he failed to get a job in 2 weeks, or to prove that he had tried to get work by visiting 25 places of potential employment, he was going to jail. Four days later he reported back. He had a job.

In another case, a man brought before my court on the charge of failing to support three illegitimate children told me he had been "permitted" by a relief worker to set up a household with another woman. I didn't believe him, but investigation proved he was telling the truth.

The man was a part-time chauffeur and a partial relief recipient. Both women involved were receiving grants. When I called on the caseworkers of the man's two paramours for testimony, I learned that they indeed had knowledge of the situation. Not only that, but a supplementary grant had been approved for paramour No. 2, reimbursing her for \$45 in "household money" she

had used as bail to retrieve her lover from behind bars.

This shocks my conscience—moral as well as financial.

The tragedy of relief is that it takes away from people the drive to work. When a person is capable of earning only \$45 a week, he may be all too willing to accept \$45 from public assistance for doing nothing. I have the deepest sympathy for the good mother struggling to bring up her children on a welfare grant, and for the father who wants but cannot find work. But I deplore a system that regards the handling out of checks as its prime function, that subsidizes the lazy and immoral home with the taxpayer's dollar.

Teenage boys have appeared before me on charges of delinquency, and I have asked them what their fathers did for a living. Their answer: "We get a check from the State."

I get a check from the Government, too. But there is one big difference; I work for mine. Too many youngsters in welfare-supported families never learn the value, the joy, the necessity of work—seeing, as they do, their fathers lying in bed until 10 in the morning, and hearing the family finances discussed only in terms of "waiting until the check comes in."

Many social workers contend that the purpose of welfare is to keep families together. In my opinion, a good institutional home would be far better for the growth and development of children than an unfit private home where a child sees promiscuity, crime and vice, where the welfare check is used for everything but the child's support.

It is my suggestion that we provide dormitory facilities for these pitiful children, especially in the urban areas where the need is most acute, and that the public-assistance law be amended to provide grants for the children's support during the period of dormitory living. There our deprived youngsters would get the benefit of the taxpayer's dollar. They could be supervised in their studies and recreation. From there they could attend local schools. Each would have a clean bed, a warm meal and a light to read by—things many of them have never known. In the end, such a plan probably would be less expensive than our present system—or lack of system.

Social workers object to institutional care "because youngsters need mother love." They should sit in court with me and hear, day after day, the stories of some of that love: no genuine affection, no supervision, no conversation—nothing but a succession of "boarder" men.

There might be less need for special facilities if more of those involved in administering relief programs were concerned with seeing that a child has a decent upbringing. Certainly, welfare workers have heavy case-loads. But no achievement of substance comes easily, and the result of the extra effort can be inspiring, especially when you are dealing with human lives.

A few years ago five young girls involved in the slashing of another youngster in school were brought before me on a charge of delinquency. Some were from homes supported by welfare grants. None had had any previous contacts with the court. I decided on an experiment: I made each write an essay on the meaning of being a lady; each was told that she must volunteer 100 hours of work in a hospital, a library or a home for the aged. And each must make a proper skirt, not tight and short like those they had worn in court.

These girls did not only everything the court assigned—but more. They learned the joy of work and of doing for others. They kept coming back even after I had released them from probation, and continually asked me: "What can we do next, Judge Stout?" None has been in trouble since. Two are now

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of Labor, Mr. W. Willard Wirtz, after a 4-day tour of California farm areas, said: "There will be no reactivation of Public Law 78 under which Mexican nationals were imported to the United States to work in the fields." Mr. Wirtz also said that increased labor costs would have to be assumed by the consumers.

"Also, Mr. Wirtz says that since we have 500,000 unemployed workers in California we should not import any foreign labor. That sounds logical, but I believe that he overlooked the fact that few Americans will work for \$1.25 an hour, which for forty hours would amount to \$50 per week, from which there would be payroll deductions, namely Federal withholdings, social security, California unemployment insurance, and accident insurance. Also, a worker may live from 5 to 50 miles from the farm and need gas and oil to commute, so he may not clear more than \$40 per week. However, if he goes once a week to the unemployment office he may collect a \$55 check, with no deductions, and go home and do no work.

"We note that Mr. Albert Tieburg, director of California Agricultural Employment, recently said that we needed 8,700 workers immediately in the Stockton, Salinas, and Coachella Valley areas. At the February meeting of Mendocino Pomona Grange it was reported that at Oxnard they had rounded up 500 fellows to pick lemons starting on a Monday, and by Saturday they had only 17 or 18 left, and these were too old to go up ladders to pick lemons, so the lemons will be rotting on the ground, and the prices will go up. We recently heard on the radio that in Stockton area they rounded up over 800 workers to pick asparagus, and by the third day they had about 80 left.

"We know that the planting and harvesting of vegetables must be done at the right time of the year; also the fruit from orchards must be picked at the right time or it will spoil, and therefore it will not wait for our Congress and the rest of the Government to be just talking about Public Law 78 that has been abolished, or the 'green card' to braceros, and the rest of the theories and technicalities.

"We have heard that, because of the uncertainty of harvesting, a few of our canneries have already moved to Mexico, and more will be moving, because they are sure of abundant products and labor there, so in another 2 or 3 years the million and a half of cannery and processing workers will be out of jobs, and California will have two or three times more unemployed collecting \$55 per week, and our 15 billion agricultural industry will have gone to the dogs, and Uncle Sam will have lost the cannery and processing companies' income tax, and the workers' income tax, while Mexico will be gaining these taxes. Also, the farmers won't have to pay the State the \$84 million that they paid last year to the State, for unemployment benefits, but still the State will have many more unemployed people to support.

"Having been for many years in our merchant marine service, I remember that as far back as 1918 our California dried fruits, such as raisins, prunes, apricots, pears and peaches, and walnuts and almonds were being exported to North European countries by many thousands of tons, and if we are now not to have anybody to do the harvesting of such crops the loss of this export business will be a serious blow to our entire agricultural economy. Also, we should be considering our canning industry, which is very large at present in our State, and the frozen fruit and vegetable industry.

"We do not know of any machine that can pick up asparagus, celery, Swiss chard, peas, ripe tomatoes, strawberries, cherries, plums, apricots, peaches, pears, and many more fruits and vegetables. They must be handled by loving hands, since a machine does

not know if a pea pod has anything inside, or if strawberries are red or green.

"Under such conditions of having no manual workers to do our planting and harvesting of agricultural products, the farmers will have no choice but to go into other fields, such as raising cows or sheep or cotton. Then the fruit and vegetable stands and canned goods shelves will have a very sickly appearance, and prices will be two or three times higher, and our incomes or social security checks won't be any bigger. In a couple of months or less the strawberries will be nice and ripe, and with no one to pick them and bring them to our stores strawberry shortcake will be past history.

"We know that Mexico permits big American capital and many, many thousands of Americans to work and do big business in Mexico, especially in the line of gas and oil for our cars, so if Mexico permits Americans to do business and work there why cannot America permit temporary Mexican workers to come over and harvest our products (which we won't do for ourselves), in order to keep our bay windows up in good shape? Suppose the Mexican Government retaliated by saying: 'If you don't want us in your country, we don't want you in ours; pack up and go home.' Mexico is not going to say 'Pack up and go home.' On the contrary, at present as in the past, Mexico encourages with open arms foreign industries to come in, and they accord any privileges and facilities possible, as we already know quite well. We have read that in 1963 we imported 242 million pounds of tomatoes from Mexico, and this year our farmers are having difficulty borrowing any money from banks for tomato planting, because of the uncertainty of harvesting.

"It is interesting to notice that our Secretary of Agriculture does not seem to have made a peep concerning the situation. Does he not have jurisdiction?

"We should all write to our Representatives in Washington and the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture."

We earnestly urge that you do all possible to help California avoid the disaster which may result from failure to plant and harvest the crops which her people, and indeed the peoples of the Nation and of the world, have come to expect.

Respectfully yours,

PHYLLIS S. JIMENES,

Mrs. F. A. JIMENES,

Secretary.

SALINAS, CALIF.,

May 11, 1965.

Hon. DON CLAUSEN,  
House of Representatives,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Today, more than 20,000 crates of strawberries will be added to those already rotting on the plants in our fields. Continual daily losses building to 40,000 crates per day this time next week are anticipated if we are unable to pick. Translated to market value using combination fresh and freezer prices on last year's market prices at least \$50,000 per day loss. It is clearly and abundantly evident insufficient numbers of domestic workers available for strawberry harvest and cultural practices. Today, our needs are for an additional 2,000 workers and by the middle of next week an additional 1,500 required. This company has met all items of criteria for becoming eligible for supplemental foreign labor and certified for workers, however no help other than 200 plus Japanese and Filipino nationals yet. Further documentation of losses to be developed by Agricultural Extension Service, University of California and forwarded separate cover. Any assistance you are able to provide greatly appreciated.

SALINAS STRAWBERRIES,  
TOM McNAMARA.

## Shadow of Cuba

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 12, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues the outstanding editorial on American action in the Dominican Republic by the renowned writer, Max Lerner. This article appeared in the New York Post of May 3, 1965. I concur completely in Mr. Lerner's remarks and hope that other editorialists speak out as forthrightly as he has.

[From the New York Post, May 3, 1965]

SHADOW OF CUBA

(By Max Lerner)

A friend of mine, who knows Latin America better than I do, says it will be a long, hot summer in the Caribbean. Certainly what has happened in Santo Domingo, turning a lovely city into a charnel house, suggests that there are volcanic political passions in the area. The bloodshed wears the aspect not only of a rebellion but of a civil war, with longstanding hatreds coming into play and old accounts being settled.

In this jungle of passions, anti-American hatreds emerged very early in the rebellion. President Johnson had to act swiftly to get American civilians out. But most political decisions have plural, not single, motives. Having entered the Dominican Republic to save lives, the American troops have stayed to prevent anarchy, seal off the chances of a Communist takeover, and await the beginnings of a new frame of political order.

One's first impulse is to say that this was a monstrous blunder, awakening long muted memories of marine landings and gunboat diplomacy, and feeding the Castro image of American imperialism. Yet one cannot stop there, without raising a haunting question: What was the alternative for President Johnson? Was it to appeal to the OAS? There would be days and days before any practical action; and if the revolt did indeed contain, as a second-stage effect, the design for a Communist takeover, the OAS action would have come far too late. Or was the alternative simply to stay out, or to get out again immediately after the first evacuation of Americans, and let events take their course?

It isn't enough to point out in a holier-than-they way what must have been obvious enough to Johnson, Rusk, Bundy and Tom Mann—that the decision was a dangerous one. But was there any alternative that would have been any less dangerous? Running a country isn't a question of making choices between the beautiful decisions and the damned ones. It is often an impossible choice between a blind alley and a somewhat less blind one, and a President is lucky, even as he enters a dark tunnel, that he can see a thin shaft of light at the far end.

The whole decision in the Dominican operation, as it transpired in the minds of the President and his advisers, was made in the shadow of Cuba. It is easy to say that the shadow shouldn't have been there—but it was. Too much blood has been spilt in Cuba, too many lives have been blasted there, too much heartbreak and frustration and remorse have been felt in Washington to leave the slate blank.

The pro-Bosch leaders now say that the Communist elements in the revolt are not many, and that the irresponsible ones got

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candidate not given too much chance of election.

Mr. Pierce won handily, however, and offered Mr. Caffrey the job as congressional secretary. Mr. Caffrey accepted and moved to the Washington area where he had since remained helping direct the careers of Mr. Pierce, Mr. Kilburn, and Representative McEwen.

Mr. Caffrey married the former Marian Benning, of Clyde, N.Y.

Mr. Caffrey's success on behalf of the Representatives he worked for likely was his quick response to constituents with problems. His tenacity and ability to follow through on appeals for congressional help also helped him attain the respect of his employers and the constituency as well.

Nominally, Mr. Caffrey was quiet and retiring. He worked hard and long hours. In 1962 he was seriously ill with pneumonia and was hospitalized for some time. He recovered slowly from the illness.

[From the Watertown (N.Y.) Times, May 11, 1965]

**GEORGE CAFFEY RITES PLANNED—FUNERAL FOR CONGRESSIONAL AID TO BE WEDNESDAY IN ARLINGTON, VA.**

Mr. Caffrey, whose career spanned the White House tenure of four Presidents, served as chief aid to Representatives Wallace E. Pierce, Clarence E. Kilburn, and Robert C. McEwen, all of whom represented northern New York communities. His 25 years of Capitol Hill service made him about the dean of legislative assistants and he was extremely popular with congressional offices regardless of political affiliation.

His great familiarity with committee staff and key officials of the executive agencies enabled him to keep several steps ahead of announced decisions and breaking events.

Frequently when it was impossible to get something done, arrange an appointment or get a visitor into a special tour, Mr. Caffrey found his longstanding connections around Washington invaluable and the impossible became the possible.

A dour-faced man who rarely smiled, Mr. Caffrey nevertheless had a good sense of humor and prized friendships, of which he had many. His assessments of individuals and events were frank, measured and based on a wealth of experience.

His loyalty to the men he served in Congress was unwavering, and their welfare was paramount with him. In addition to serving as chief of staff, Mr. Caffrey used his newspaper experience as a solid background for handling his Congressman's press relations.

He regularly referred to the man he served as "the boss."

One embellishment he brought to his office was a large, overgrown brandy snifter-type glass bowl, which he kept filled with small candles, and visitors regularly dropped in while "passing by" to help themselves.

Mr. Caffrey rarely allowed himself to be roused to sharp anger. His advice to those whose blood pressure started to rise at some setback was always keep sweet.

He delighted in attending occasional Republican Party functions in New York City, and he was active in the Republican congressional secretaries' organization known as the Bull Elephants.

One of his hobbies was the collection of models of airplanes and rockets and missiles that brightened the Capitol Hill office. For many years he attended the opening-day baseball games in Washington, but skipped recent ones because of the raw weather.

His death prevented Mr. Caffrey from participating in a forthcoming Washington "first"—a reception President and Mrs. Johnson are planning for top congressional aids.

[From the Watertown (N.Y.) Times May 11, 1965]

**KILBURN PAYS TRIBUTE TO LATE GEORGE CAFFEY**

**MALON, May 11**—Former Congressman Clarence E. Kilburn, Malone, today termed the passing of George T. Caffrey, 60, Arlington, Va., as a terrible blow to the entire Kilburn family.

Mr. Caffrey, who served for 25 years as administrative assistant to the Malone Republican in Washington, died of a heart attack while visiting his sister, Mrs. John Patrick (Gail) Gardes, in Poughkeepsie Saturday.

Mr. Kilburn said that Mr. Caffrey was a "very close friend . . . and the best assistant on Capitol Hill." He said the congressional aid was "an honest and forthright man who worked hard for the north country."

Mr. Kilburn continued: "I don't know, in the 25 years I was there (Washington), how I could have gotten along without him. Mr. Caffrey's death was a terrible blow to the entire Kilburn family."

Mr. Caffrey served as administrative assistant to Representative Robert C. McEwen, Republican, of Ogdensburg, up to the time of his death. Before serving as Mr. Kilburn's chief of staff, Mr. Caffrey was the top aid to Representative Wallace E. Pierce, Republican, of Plattsburgh, for 1 year.

[From the Ogdensburg Journal, May 10, 1965]  
**GEORGE T. CAFFEY, VETERAN AID TO THREE CONGRESSMEN, DIED SATURDAY**

Congressman McEwen said today:

"Words fail to express my shock, my profound sorrow and deep feeling of personal loss on the passing of George T. Caffrey. More than the able congressional assistant that he was, he was a trusted aid, a wise counselor, and a warm personal friend."

Mrs. Esther VanWagoner Tufty, Washington correspondent for the Ogdensburg Journal, said:

"With George Caffrey as administrative assistant to Congressmen from the 31st District for more than 25 years, the district has really had two Congressmen in the House of Representatives. And yet, George would not like me to say that, for fear he would be taking something away from the three men whom he served."

"George T. Caffrey was a newspaper reporter's kind of administrative assistant. He knew news—sometimes even before it happened. And he kept his news sources informed. He would evaluate the importance of national and world events to the local congressional district. Add to that his steady friendship and willingness to assist a reporter. Yet he always kept his loyalty to the Congressmen intact."

"George Caffrey was an administrative assistant extraordinary."

## Israel's 17th Anniversary

**SPEECH**  
OF

**HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 6, 1965

**Mr. ADDABBO.** Mr. Speaker, May 14 marks the 17th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel, and it gives me pleasure to congratulate her and her people on this momentous occasion.

The State of Israel was born with great

struggle as was our own United States. The founders of Israel and its people have much of the pioneering spirit that our forefathers had—we built a nation from the wilderness, Israel has built a nation from the desert. It is this spirit and determination which is responsible for the almost unbelievable strides she has made in the short period of 17 years.

We were the first country to recognize Israel as a nation and we want to be in the forefront of those congratulating her on her success and reassure her of our continued support and best wishes for continued growth and prosperity.

**Reinstatement of the Bracero Program**  
**Urged**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**  
OF

**HON. DON H. CLAUSEN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 13, 1965

**Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN.** Mr. Speaker, much has been said lately about the bracero program—proponents of its abolishment have advanced beautiful arguments that we have a plentiful domestic labor force to do the work of the bracero; that the fresh fruit and vegetable growers would be well served; that the Nation's welfare would be enhanced by the utilization of this domestic labor.

We are now confronted with not the fine-sounding logic—but with the grim reality. I hope every Member of Congress will read the following communications, describing in real terms the already devastating effects of the ill-advised action to abolish the bracero program. I think it is incumbent upon all Members of Congress to seriously consider the reinstatement of the bracero program—vital not only to the grower, the canner, and the trucker, but to the economy of our entire Nation.

The communications follow:

MENDOCINO COUNTY POMONA  
GRANGE, No. 10,  
Willits, Calif., May 5, 1965.

Hon. DON CLAUSEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLAUSEN: At their regular meeting on April 25, 1965, members of Mendocino County Pomona Grange No. 10 heard the reading of the following, which is based on a report originally presented at a meeting of Little Lake Grange No. 670, Willits, Calif., by a member of its committee on agriculture. The members voted to send the report to several persons, and this copy is for you.

"Pertaining to agriculture in the State of California, it appears that we have a major problem, the seriousness of which a good proportion of our population does not fully realize. This problem exists because of the abolishment of Public Law 78, preventing Mexican nationals from coming into California to work at harvesting our farm products, as most Americans are unwilling to go to the fields and work under the scorching sun for \$1.25 an hour.

"According to the Santa Rosa Press Democrat for March 28, our honorable Secretary



out of control. Maybe so. Certainly Bosch himself is a decent committed democrat with a small d, even if he is an ineffectual political leader. But after the Castro experience should one have expected President Johnson to take a course of action—or nonaction—that might well have led to a second Cuba off American shores? For him to have done so would not only have been out of character and out of philosophy: it would also have run counter to the kind of President most of the American people think he is, and the kind of belief they have in him.

Well then, once the American troops came in, why has President Johnson piled up more and more thousands of them? Isn't each detachment he sends a further slap at the Latin American self-image? Here again one must go back to Cuban-American history, this time to the Bay of Pigs. The shadow of the Bay of Pigs fiasco hangs even more heavily over Washington than the shadow of Castro's persistence in power. If the Bay of Pigs invasion was a mistake then—as everyone now agrees—the failure to carry it through in full force compounded the mistake many times over. That was in Kennedy's mind when he had to make a decision on the Russian missiles in Cuba. It will be in the mind of every President for some years to come. If history is lights and shadows, it is mostly shadows.

Of course, there has been an outcry from the Latin neighbors and partners of the United States. If I were a Brazilian, a Mexican, a Chilean, I should probably be joining in the outcry. Yet if I asked myself what alternative there was, I should have no answer. I suspect strongly that, however great the outcry has been, it would have been dim and pale alongside the withering contempt of the Latin American leaders if the United States had done nothing, if its citizens had been killed, and if the revolt had led to another Castro regime—or a Castro-oriented one—in Santo Domingo.

The satisfying fact is that the OAS political presence has been enabled to establish itself alongside the U.S. military presence. There are dead to be buried, wounds to be bound up, food to be distributed, the routines of life to be restored. A new leadership will in time be found, and with heavy economic aid it will be able to make a new beginning of order. Whatever may be said against the Americans, they will not stay any longer than the minimal need for them. They will get out. That would not have been true of the Castroites, if they had been given a chance to turn the rebellion into a class dictatorship.

### Israel Anniversary

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. THOMAS M. PELLY**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 13, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it was 17 years ago that the Union Jack was lowered over Palestine, marking the end of British rule over that area.

May 14, 1948, saw the emergence of a new nation, the State of Israel. This is a nation which has created an example of what a people can do when given the right of self-determination; she is a model of democracy in action.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, 17 years ago this dream of almost 1,900 years became a reality as the blue and white flag with

the Star of David took its rightful place among the banners of the free world.

It has not been easy for the people of Israel these last 17 years, as it has not been for the last 1,900 years, because hostile neighbors have attempted to drive the Jewish people out of Israel. But this gallant nation has stood steadfast and grown strong and self-reliant.

I join with my colleagues and say mazel tov to the people of Israel.

### Chicago Sun-Times Editor Retires

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. DONALD RUMSFELD**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 13, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay particular honor and recognition today to a distinguished and truly outstanding Chicago newspaperman, Mr. Milburn P. Akers, who is retiring after a quarter century of service with the Chicago Sun-Times. Throughout his career, Mr. Akers has made extraordinary contributions to his community, State, and the Nation.

Readers of his columns and editorials will long remember his discerning reporting on national and world affairs, as well as his public spirit and dedication to the causes of good government and education. A Chicago Sun-Times article, which follows, highlights Mr. Akers' career and pays due respect to his leadership:

#### AKERS TO RETIRE AS SUN-TIMES EDITOR

(By Donald M. Schwartz)

Milburn P. Akers announced his retirement Saturday as editor of the Chicago Sun-Times after a quarter of century of service with this newspaper.

Akers, who reached the retirement age of 65 earlier this month, will step down as editor on Monday, June 7.

In accepting Akers' resignation, Marshall Field, publisher of the Sun-Times, praised Akers' many contributions to the paper.

"All the years of my working newspaper life have been spent in close and pleasant association with Pete Akers," Field said. "His vigor, professional knowledge, and journalistic integrity have been invaluable to me."

"Much of what the Sun-Times has become is a reflection of his leadership." And, as Akers discussed his retirement with a reporter, it was typical that he was at his typewriter composing one of his columns on current affairs.

(The column will continue to appear once a week in the Sunday Sun-Times even after Akers' retirement.)

#### LIKE A MUSICIAN

Now and again he would dash off a few sentences or perhaps only a few words, then pause and ponder, taking a drag on a cigarette hardly noticing it in his fingers or at his lips.

Then he would start up again at the machine with only a few of his fingers doing the work—they skipped about easily in a bouncy, jaunty fashion that may oldtime newspapermen use. It was more like a musician playing an instrument than a skilled typist operating a machine.

"Best one-fingered typist in the country,"

Akers threw out in an aside that disturbed his attention to the growing column as little as the drag on the cigarette.

Pete Akers had been doing that for a long time—42 years—in a career that began as a cub reporter on the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in 1923. From there he went to the Illinois State Register in Springfield; the Associated Press, for which he worked in Springfield, Chicago, and Washington, and finally to the old Sun and the Sun-Times, where he became successively managing editor, executive editor, and editor.

Pete Akers had pounded on typewriters in countless newspaper offices and Western Union offices, in the Senate Press Gallery in Washington, in the statehouse in Springfield, in small towns in southern Illinois, during the bloody days there when he worked for the P-D. He had roamed the broad circuit of a big-time newspaperman and written of what he saw just as his great-grandfather, Peter Akers, a Virginia planter's son who became a Methodist minister, roamed the country from his birthplace to Kentucky, to Illinois, to Minnesota, telling of what he saw and how it could be improved.

That was in the back of Pete Akers' mind too—how things could be improved—and it came out especially when he moved into positions of command in the newspaper business.

It also is a major theme of the work he has done in government, education, and religion, much of it closely related to his newspaper career.

Asked why he went to work for Illinois Gov. Henry Horner as his publicity man in 1936 (a job he held 3 years), Akers replied: "I just thought he was a high-grade, first-class Governor who shouldn't be displaced." The Chicago Democratic machine had turned against the Democratic Governor and he faced a tough primary contest.

#### A TOTAL COMMITMENT

Perhaps Akers' commitment to improving things can be shown, as well as anywhere, in the job he did on the Sun-Times. Although he himself balks at comparisons between his ministerial forebears and the moral, crusading tone of his newspaper career, a colleague on the Sun-Times notes that as boss of the paper he "operated almost as though it were a total commitment"—like a dedicated preacher answering a call to a pulpit.

Akers became managing editor of the Sun-Times and started converting it as fast as he could into a paper of stature, seriousness, and substance. "That was Mr. Field's desire," he observed.

The new managing editor faced serious practical problems, some of which stemmed from the fact that he was trying to meld into a single paper, with its own identity, two vastly different papers—the serious-minded Sun and the tabloid Times, which had been merged shortly before he took over.

"If you went either way," he recalled, "if you went to the old Sun or the old Times, you had the problem of losing part of your audience. So you had the problem of making the change very slowly so you didn't lose your audience."

As it was, Akers later had the nerve-racking experience of losing large parts of his audience when the Sun-Times, a 24-hour-a-day paper up to the mid-1950's started lopping off afternoon editions to become solely a morning paper.

"That was the toughest thing I ever had," he said. "I'd come down to work and find I'd lost 50,000 circulation and I was supposed to make it up the next day."

The changes came slowly and were many. In January 1950, the headline type was changed from Karnak to Vogue, a purely technical point it may seem, but it was movement from blocky, jarring, rather crude looking headlines, to a more modern and streamlined typeface. Moreover, said Akers



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

May 13, 1935

in a memo to the staff: "With the larger unit count in the heads, it is hoped that the use of such abbreviations as 'exec,' 'ma,' 'dad,' 'cop,' 'hood,' 'con,' \* \* \* can be greatly reduced, if not eliminated entirely."

Classic earmarks of tabloidism were being dropped over the side even while the paper, in size, remained in the tabloid format.

Akers also introduced longer stories on serious subjects, including education and religion, and permitted more interpretive reporting in the paper, a technique which newspaper editors often praise but frequently have been reluctant to use, and this was especially true 15 years ago.

## A LINK TO HIS OWN CAREER

The turn toward interpretive reporting was linked up with Akers' own career and his own style as a writer and reporter. As a reporter for the Associated Press, during a time when it stressed a mechanical, almost inhuman objectivity, he had suffered under such restraints, which he later described in a speech as "a rather sterile formula known as objective reporting." At the Sun-Times he sought out intelligent reporters and gave them a little more elbowroom to tell what was going on instead of merely serving as conveyor belts for disparate facts.

Even the stylebook issued during Akers' tenure as executive editor speaks of the changes he was bringing about.

Many newspaper stylebooks are dry, mechanical things which deal mainly with contractions of State names and what words to capitalize. But the Akers stylebook, issued in 1955, had a style of its own—a philosophy of writing—and a carefully articulated outlook on such matters as good taste and fairness.

Simultaneous rebuttal, for example, was one of the earmarks of the book and became so in the newspaper.

It was the time of McCarthyism and the executive editor, as he had then become, insisted that those who were attacked, perhaps unfairly and inaccurately, should have a chance to reply, simultaneously, in the same story.

## IMPROVEMENT ON COMMUNITY LEVEL

There were many other changes large and small, such as a special Sunday section to deal comprehensively with important topics, and in time these added up to a new reputation for the tabloid that acted like a quality paper, a reputation that spread beyond Chicago and caused a Saturday Review writer to declare it the best paper in town.

But while Akers was improving the paper inside he was also pursuing improvement outside, in the community.

A close colleague on the paper in those days describes him as a "crusading, investigative newspaperman." Gordon E. Michelson, president of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill., with whom Akers has had much association, said, "His whole journalistic career has been tinged with social justice."

Akers at the Sun-Times instituted and presided over many crusades, many investigations—the disclosure that an alderman was sharing in legal fees paid on zoning variations obtained through the city council, stories that forced a Democratic gubernatorial candidate to withdraw from the race, revelations about the high costs of hauling surplus foods to schools in the State.

Not all the stories were major crusades or investigations. There was also the time, in 1950, when Akers sent a reporter up to Wisconsin to get the background on the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, who was just beginning his rise as a Communist hunter.

Akers, the editor, from having known McCarthy when he was Akers, the reporter, thought the Senator was far from being the admirable figure that some thought him to be and he instructed a reporter to get the

rest of the story, which he printed in a series of articles.

## MASSIVE KNOWLEDGE

The reporter recalls that, in addition to the importance of the subject matter and how much it preceded most assessments of McCarthy, the assignment also illustrated two facets of Akers as a newsman.

First, he had encountered McCarthy on one of his many political reporting journeys and had formed a firsthand impression, something indispensable to a good journalist. The reporter noted that this was part of Akers' "massive knowledge of things"—from books, experience, from having been around a long time in a lot of places and having his eyes open—a characteristic emphasized by many who have known him. A writer who has sat in on editorial conferences with him has spoken of Akers' far-ranging mind.

The second point about the McCarthy assignment, said the reporter, was that Akers did it without fooling around, without worrying about the paper's image.

One of the most revealing of the Akers stories, for what it shows about the man, was the Moretti case.

## MORETTI CASE RECALLED

Michael Moretti was a 33-year-old policeman assigned to the State's attorney's office who shot two youths to death and wounded a third, but was not indicted when his case was first brought before the county grand jury. He pleaded self-defense, but the wounded man claimed that he killed in an unprovoked rage.

Akers exploited and the Sun-Times demanded a reopening of the case, claiming a whitewash by the State's attorney's office to protect one of its own. Moretti was subsequently indicted and convicted of murder.

Why was Akers so outraged by the case, into which he threw all his energy and expertise, all available resources on the paper and the paper's name itself? When he was asked that he said:

"That murder could be covered up; that murder could be whitewashed.

"Here were a couple of human beings with no status in our society.

"That they could be shot, killed, murdered, and whitewashed by the people who did it."

That was his answer, but under questioning he took it further.

"I have said to young people in speeches many times that I believe in the American capitalistic system and the American democratic system, and I am utterly opposed to corruption of either.

"The only way we can retain these systems is to be continually on the alert to eradicate the abuses of either, and there are abuses.

"So when something like the Moretti case came along—and the democratic system which is supposed to dispense equal justice wasn't doing so—this violated a basic belief of mine. If I didn't believe so much in the systems, I wouldn't get so violent about the abuses."

A colleague who worked closely with Akers on the Moretti story suggested another, simpler element—"the fact that young men were involved." One of the slain was only 15. "Pete is sort of about kids," the colleague remarked, and the point linked up with something Akers himself said about another, current story that has moved him—South Vietnam.

In 1963 he visited that war-brutalized country and since his return he has written about it often in his Sun-Times column.

Sometimes the column, on Vietnam, has not been cool and analytical but outraged, as when he wrote on February 22 that the Vietnamese people were being "ground to pieces" while the United States held back from negotiations.

## DESCRIBES VIETNAM INCIDENTS

Akers described the other day what lay behind those feelings.

"I was down in the delta country in South Vietnam. Somewhere they'd killed a nest of Vietcong the night before.

"Here was a bunch of little people heaped on the ground, in the position they had fallen, and died in. You turned them over and looked at them and most of them were little kids 16 or 17."

Akers, of course, has not always been struggling with such heartrending subjects as youths foully murdered in Chicago or youths heaped up dead in South Vietnam.

A familiar scene in his office at the Sun-Times was to find him chatting with staff members—really passing the time of day in smalltown style while editors drifted in and out to consult with him.

Akers, although he happened to have been born in Cook County, was really from Jacksonville, where his father was a Methodist minister, the third in a line of Methodist ministers.

He grew up amid a rural Illinois where his family had been for three generations before him; where he absorbed the atmosphere of the Lincoln country, the habit of thinking for himself, and a prejudice against being high flown. He also started an unending study of the State, in books and in person, and is known in his profession for an encyclopedic knowledge of Illinois, down to little bits and pieces, obscure rivers and out of the way highway routes.

He is not a slick, modern man. He is a bulky figure, often in rumpled clothes, with a massive head and small, pudgy hands. He looks like a man who might have been found in a small county courthouse a generation or two ago. But he is deceptive; he can be very much up to date as he proved in transforming the Sun-Times.

He is a reader—not just one who reads books, occasionally or often, but one who is at home with books, relishes the books, relaxes with books. Reading is his hobby—chiefly biography, history, politics. His mother and father, he says, were readers, his mother—Massachusetts born—having been among the first women graduates of Syracuse University and later a schoolteacher.

## EDUCATION A MAJOR INTEREST

His interests outside newspapering have run to education, and he is credited by one qualified source with having saved his alma mater, McKendree College, from extinction. Some Methodist Church officials thought it too costly to continue supporting. But Akers waged a successful battle to preserve it, and one small college official observed that now, what with the great upturn in enrollments, a college like McKendree, only 20 miles from populous St. Louis, can't fail.

Michelson, president of MacMurray, said that Akers, at a trustee and chairman of the school's development committee, has played a commanding role in MacMurray's recent expansion.

He is chiefly responsible, for one thing, for the founding of a men's college at the MacMurray campus where there was previously only a girl's school.

At both places, MacMurray and McKendree, he was tending the deep roots put down in Illinois by his great-grandfather. Peter Akers was the principal founder of MacMurray and the first president of McKendree.

## SCHOLARSHIPS SET UP

After his retirement Akers will continue as the head of a statewide committee attempting to make the job of State superintendent of public instruction an appointive office—an effort to take the important position out of politics.

The Sun-Times recognized this deep involvement with education in an announcement last week by Executive Editor Emmett Dedmon that three annual Chicago Sun-Times college scholarships in honor of Milburn P. Akers had been established.

July 26, 1965

than the tenants, and promote slums rather than decent housing.

If the Commissioners can agree there's an "emergency"—and there is—perhaps they might try promoting some one- or two-block urban renewal projects—for public housing. It might not work, but it seems worth the attempt. It'll take a while to get to the suburbs.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 15, 1965]

#### NEW GROUP TO PUSH LOW INCOME HOUSING (By Benjamin Forgey)

An informal District organization calling itself the Ad Hoc Committee on the Housing Crisis was formed last night to seek an increase in low-income housing.

Representatives of about 20 housing, civil rights, labor, political, welfare and church organizations endorsed the program, but left the exact nature of the new group in doubt as they returned to report to their own organizations.

Harris Weinstein, chairman of the housing committee of the Washington Planning and Housing Association, said he hoped action on some of the proposals would begin this week.

The most "immediate and substantial need," Weinstein told the group, was to lobby for balanced residential use of the Anacostia-Bolling and National Training School sites. Competing proposals for use of these tracts, the last large, available publicly owned sites in the District, are being discussed in Congress.

The group also voted to urge the District Commissioners to use "whatever powers they now have" to make repairs on slum properties and charge the repairs to landlords.

According to the resolution, the Commissioners will also be asked to seek legislation preventing "retaliatory" evictions and rent increases.

Also proposed was a "housing crisis week-end" during which clergymen will focus their sermons on the need for low-income housing and a tour of the District's slums for interested public officials.

The meeting was the result of a WPHA effort to "bring the housing needs of the District before the public," and was a follow-up an initial session held last Thursday.

#### FOREIGN POLICY MISMANAGEMENT

(Mr. DERWINSKI (at the request of Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the continued deterioration of our conduct of foreign affairs is seen in many parts of the world. However, the spineless handling of the Nasser administration in Egypt certainly is fully indicative of foreign policy mismanagement.

When are we going to wake up and realize that we are being taken for a ride? Egypt is doing a good job of making a fool out of the United States. Less than a month ago, Egypt's Nasser took a full advantage of American willingness to hand out free wheat. Now, we find out that the Agency for International Development gave Egypt over 23 million dollars' worth of corn in 1961 on the basis of an out and out misrepresentation.

My distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN], has called attention to the report of the General Accounting Office that a shipment of 186,000 metric tons of corn to Egypt under the auspices of AID was obtained under false pretenses. The grant

was made on the basis of reports from the Communist-sympathizing country of a potential famine because of a serious crop failure. It was later disclosed that no crop failure occurred and much of the corn had been sold by Egypt.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] further disclosed that AID officials found out Egypt was selling some of the corn even before the whole grant was shipped. With over \$11 million worth still in the hands of U.S. officials, AID apparently made no attempt to hold the shipments until the matter could be investigated. The GAO report charged that AID did not check on distribution of over 85 percent of the corn, and it has been substantiated that at least 80,000 tons have been sold by the Egyptian Government.

This report confirms what I have been saying for years. The administration will spend taxpayers' dollars to give aid to any country which stretches out its hand. I want to commend the General Accounting Office on its alertness. I hope this report opens some eyes in Washington. If it does not, it seems we will continue to help a country that openly degrades the United States and is critical of our policy.

What is needed is action by the Congress to insure that any future grants would be made only when it is assured that all the aid goes for the purpose for which it was intended. Apparently, the Agency for International Development does not do this now.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee which has been dutifully rubberstamping administration measures for years, I would hope that the committee would recognize its legislative responsibilities and concentrate on implementation of a foreign policy whereby we would reject the blackmail pressures from rulers such as Nasser.

Nasser is using anti-Israel statements as a smokescreen for his domestic failures, and there is no reason why we should prop up his administration, which is carrying on an aggressive military action against the legitimate government and people of Yemen.

(Mr. BURTON of Utah (at the request of Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BURTON of Utah's remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. BURTON of Utah (at the request of Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BURTON of Utah's remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

#### MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMISSION ON THE COINAGE

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89-81, the Chair appoints as members of the Joint Commission on the Coinage the following

Members on the part of the House: MESSRS. EDMONDSON, GIALMO, CONTE, and BATTIN.

#### FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2984) entitled "An act to amend the Public Health Service Act provisions for construction of health research facilities by extending the expiration date thereof and providing increased support for the program, to authorize additional assistant secretaries in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2985) entitled "An act to authorize assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 7984) entitled "An act to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 510) entitled "An act to extend and otherwise amend certain expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services, and for other purposes."

#### TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF CUBA POSES A THREAT TO AMERICA AS GREAT AS THE THREAT IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 12 years ago today Fidel Castro and his brother, Raul, with 101 others overran the Moncada Army Barracks in Cuba. This was the beginning of Castro's war to overthrow Batista. It was the beginning of Castro's betrayal of the Cuban people by permitting the Soviets to establish the first Communist regime in

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tails and dimensions of the housing problem in the Nation's Capital."

Existing data is stale, incomplete, and inadequate," Sheppard said. "Almost everyone living in Washington is aware generally that we are confronted with a housing problem which is growing more serious day by day. But now we want the facts. The unvarnished and whole truth will give us a realistic basis to solve the problem."

"Now the citizens living in these areas have volunteered to go out personally, interview their neighbors and then collect the information which will help us define our goals and strategies. What we need now is more decent, safe housing that low-income people can afford."

"This is a burning issue with us. We feel that poor housing is one of the strongest contributing causes of poverty," he said.

The census is being conducted in three neighborhoods in the Cardozo area of Northwest Washington; in the neighborhood around Friendship House, 619 G Street SE.; in the neighborhood around Southeast House across the Anacostia River, 223 Mount View Place SE., and in two areas in the Northeast.

One is in the near Northeast, bounded by New York Avenue, Mount Olivet Road, M Street, and the Anacostia River. Another is in the far Northeast, bounded on two sides by the Prince Georges County line, and by Fort Dupont Road and the Anacostia River, and a third in urban renewal area Northwest No. 1 around Union Station.

A five-page survey form includes questions on the number of people living in a dwelling, their income, rent, and mortgage schedules. Interviewers will seek information from renters about landlord-tenant relationships, lease patterns and eviction problems.

They will pinpoint the actual physical conditions of each dwelling unit, sanitary conditions, the state of repair or disrepair, heating facilities, and trash and garbage collection service.

Interviewers have been organized into area teams by the neighborhood advisory councils.

Data gathered will be tallied from August 4-7. A report will be issued to the community August 8. This is expected to be followed by an action program based on the recommendations.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 20, 1965]

#### COMPLIANCE ON REPAIRS IS OFTEN LONG DELAYED

Both landlord and tenant complain about the lack of a clear standard for enforcement. The landlord says different inspectors use different criteria for spotting violations, and the tenants complain that the lack of quality control permits landlords to use cheap materials in repairs. The code specified only that a "workmanlike" job be done.

Neighborhood workers attempting to help slum dwellers with their housing problems have been annoyed by the housing division's policy of allowing only landlords and tenants to see violations records. Mallon said he was making an exception to his rule when reporters, after filling out detailed forms requiring both Mallon's and the Corporation Counsel's signatures, were permitted to see the records.

All the division's records are filed by street address. There is no central file listing violators by name. The inspectors become familiar with habitual offenders, but there is no easy way to determine any owner's entire history of code violations.

But mostly it is the long delays and the constant threat of retaliating evictions that frustrate slum dwellers seeking to get repairs in their homes. And perhaps it is the delays that have led to the suspicion by the tenants that inspectors can be bought off by landlords.

One real estate man said that years ago, owners and agents always provided the inspectors with generous Christmas gifts.

"We all used to do it," he said, "but then one time an inspector came by to get his gift, and I saw his car was packed full of whiskey so I cut it out."

The agent said he now occasionally will ask an inspector to come by one of his properties to advise him about repairs that will be necessary to meet the code. "I usually give them \$5 or \$10 for the favor," he said, "but I've only done this a couple of dozen times in the past 25 years."

S. Tudor Strang, deputy superintendent of the housing division, said: "If we knew the point where slum landlords will leave the market and be replaced by people not interested in exploiting tenants. But stepped-up enforcement as Mallon points out, would require considerably more inspectors."

Several weeks ago, District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner suggested what he calls a "reformulation" of the code. He agrees with many slum landlords—that the minor aspects of the code should not be emphasized.

Tobriner fears that with strict enforcement and lower profits "the landlord either evicts the tenants, rehabilitates the property and rents to high income groups, or evicts the tenants, razes the building and converts the land to some other use."

"There is a dilemma," Tobriner said. Tough enforcement could have the unintended effect of reducing the housing supply rather than improving housing conditions.

Still other complaints about slum housing center on the Landlord and Tenant Court. Cases handled there last year amounted to more than 96,000 and Chief Judge John Lewis Smith, Jr., estimates the figure will exceed 100,000 this year.

The proceedings in the court are summary, usually without extensive argument. More than 95 percent of the cases in the court deal with nonpayment of rent while most of the others involve housing code violations.

In the nonpayment cases, Smith said, if the tenant admits having not paid the rent, the only judgment possible will be in favor of the landlord. The law does not give the tenant the right to withhold his rent because his landlord has failed to make repairs or improvements, Smith said.

The wording of the law and the role of the judges in enforcing the law have led slum dwellers to complain that the court is merely a collection agency for landlords.

Civil rights organizations and antipoverty officials in Washington are now seeking changes in the law, but Smith said that whatever reforms are made must come through legislation or appellate court decisions, not from the Landlord and Tenant Court.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 14, 1965]

#### POTOMAC WATCH—CITY'S HOUSING SHORTAGE THE TARGET, FRUSTRATION THE THEME AT DISCUSSION

(By George Lardner Jr.)

Frustration was the theme.

The city's shortage of low-cost housing was the target. The audience sounded aroused. But the members of more than 25 housing organizations, civil rights groups, and public agencies who gathered to try to "do something" about the housing crisis seemed to realize they were punching futilely at the same old paper bag—full of exorbitant rents, dilapidated homes, slumlords, and the bureaucratic delays facing almost any attempt at improvement.

"We seem to be moving backwards," said Stephen J. Pollak, president-elect of the Washington Planning and Housing Association which called the meeting.

"A tent on the Mall would be an enormous improvement for more people than I

care to think of," said Harris Weinstein, the association's housing committee chairman.

The District of Columbia Coalition of Conscience has been trying to put up a tent for a family of 13—with two working mothers—who were evicted last month, but can't find new quarters. The emergency housing program the city loudly promised in May for predicaments like this may take another 3 months to get started, according to city officials who are not accustomed to rushing.

Forty-five real estate agents and nine public and private agencies had been called, said Coalition Co-Chairman Walter E. Fauntroy, but none could come up with a single unit that the family could afford.

The tent, of course, is a gimmick—but an appropriate one. As Mr. Fauntroy said, "we have to create pressure to effect the cures."

One WPHA worker who helps families in the Cardozo area told of an eight-room house worth \$17,600 that produces gross rentals of \$600 a month for its owner.

The worker, Tom Flor, also told of another landlord who "for the 40th time in the last 8 months has evicted or threatened to evict families because they called the city's Housing Division" to get needed repairs ordered.

Another WPHA worker, Belvie Rooks, broke into tears when she described how her organization had to pay \$300 a month in back rent to "one of the worst slumlords in the city" to save a mother of seven from eviction from a house with broken-down plumbing and inadequate heating. The family, Miss Rooks said, had been living there for 3 years when the old owner died. Suddenly, she said, the rent went up from \$50 a month with utilities to \$100 a month—without utilities.

The audience had plenty of suggestions—ranging from rent controls, to tougher enforcement of the housing code to easing the housing code's restrictions against overcrowding.

Mr. Fauntroy suggested that citizens' organizations start scouring the suburbs for sites—a suggestion that should be well worth pursuing under the administration's rent subsidy program before Congress. He proposed that "we move into the surrounding area and, if necessary, purchase land to relieve the (city's housing) need."

But no one followed through with the thought. Despite the suggestions, the meeting reflected, primarily, a feeling of exasperation at all the years gone by without any substantial progress.

"What we called victories really just switched people around the slums," said Lillian Secundy of the Washington Urban League.

The WPHA had drafted a statement calling for more low-income housing in the city and action on several long-stalled projects, but the audience didn't bother to endorse it.

"Pious paragraphs," said one speaker. "Too wishy-washy," said another.

Pollak agreed, but added: "I'm wondering what we can do." He suggested development of a "plan of action" backed by a federation of all interested organizations. But no one could do anything right away. They've got their boards of directors to check with.

Everyone, it seems, is saddled with his own bureaucracy—which brings us back to the District Building.

District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner has suggested "an emergency in low-cost housing" might be declared—so the Commissioners could temporarily lift relatively minor housing code requirements in run-down neighborhoods.

The suggestion was sincerely made, but it hardly seems an adequate response to an emergency. If it had any noticeable effect, it would probably benefit the landlords more

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the Western Hemisphere. This day is now celebrated by the Communists as the 26th of July movement.

Two years ago Members on both sides of this aisle joined in presenting to the House a series of addresses about a plan "to fight the cold war and to win back Cuba for democracy."

Today, 2 years later, here we are on dead center. We face the same problem: "What to do about Cuba?"

For the record, let us review the situation in that beleaguered island only 90 miles from the eastern coastline of the United States.

Cuba, once a prosperous country; with one of the highest standards of living in Latin America, has been reduced to a primitive society. There is no freedom of the individual, no free press or radio. Letters received by Free Cuba Radio from Cuba tell of hunger, insufficient clothing, few daily necessities—the paralysis of much industry. Marxism dominates school curriculum from the nursery up through university level. The army is Soviet trained and the people are terrorized by informers in the so-called defense committees. Even the children are forced to spy on their parents. Conservatively, 80,000 Cuban men and women are now in jail, forced to live under indescribable conditions. Daily executions are commonplace.

Despite a good sugar harvest this year, the economy is at rock bottom. Castro has few dollars for exchange. Diseases have reached epidemic proportions among both people and livestock. Medicines and qualified doctors are scarce, health measures deplorable. Child mortality continues to mount. Out of a population of approximately 7 million, 500,000 have left the country. It is estimated that 230,000 Cubans hold passports and visas and are eager to leave. More than 400,000 others have filled out request forms. It is reported that from 85 to 90 percent of the people in Cuba are against the Communist regime.

How and why then do the Communists stay in power? The answer is that with 500,000 men and women under arms and with a highly trained secret police, the G-2, the Cuban people live in constant terror and under suppression of these spies and guns.

Castro's aim was not to free the Cuban people from Batista's dictatorship. His whole design was to create an arsenal and launching pad for Communist subversion to carry on their "wars of liberation" in Latin America. The New York Times in a recent editorial, put it this way:

The wars of liberation are aimed primarily against the United States. Anywhere in the non-Communist world, a gain for the East is a loss for the West and the United States is the major power in the free world.

For the past 2 years there has been comparatively little talk about Cuba. Vietnam has crowded Havana from the front pages. Many well-meaning Americans have been lulled to complacency by the coexistence line and that Cuba is no threat to the United States. In the meantime, Communist propaganda and

subversion emanating from the Cuban launching pad are defeating our foreign policy. On March 10 Hewson A. Ryan, associate director for policy and plans of the U.S. Information Service, before a Senate Committee, pointed out the direction the propaganda of the Communist nations is taking:

Communist propaganda strategy for Latin America is directed toward the destruction of U.S. power and influence in the area and ultimately to the imposition of Marxist-Leninist regimes throughout the hemisphere. In a Pravda editorial of January 14, 1965, and in the subsequent communique on the Havana meeting of Latin American Communist Parties, Moscow has made it clear that in Latin America it will use "all forms of struggle, both peaceful and nonpeaceful" to further the goals of international communism. While the U.S.S.R., Red China, and Cuba differ little on their ultimate aims in Latin America, their short-term propaganda strategy and tactics do vary somewhat.

The major themes in Cuban propaganda are "independence from Yankee imperialism" and the "advantages of a Socialist economy." To carry on their propaganda activities in Latin America the Communists utilize in varying degrees all the modern communications media. Radio Havana is broadcasting 125 hours weekly in Spanish, 14 hours in Creole for Haiti, 7 hours each in Portuguese and English, an hour and 20 minutes in Guarani for Paraguay, and 30 minutes in Aymara. Cuba's Spanish service includes a regular program for Venezuela, which has been used by members of the Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation exiled in Cuba to broadcast direct appeals for insurrection against the Venezuelan Government. Turncoats from Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, Peru, and Dominican Republic broadcast frequently to their respective home countries from Cuba, also. The Cuban service even includes a weekly half hour program entitled "The Voice of Free Dixie" and is directed to the American Negro population.

Although not generally known until Pravda reported it on January 14 of this year, Central and South American Communist Party leaders, together with Moscow agents and Castro, and his aides, met in Havana in late November 1964, to plan their combined strategy for further subverting Latin America.

The report of the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Pan American Union—April 12–May 7, 1965—derived the following conclusions from the conference of the Communists:

That, for the present, Cuba agrees to continue to follow Moscow's lead.

That the Castro regime will continue to serve as the principle tool of communism for the subversion of the Americas.

That an increase of Communist subversive activities in the Americas is to be expected.

At that meeting, they selected as their prime target for subversion, in a virtual declaration of war, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, and Haiti. They omitted the Dominican Republic, their pilot project, for which battle plans already had been drawn.

Also, in the early part of March 1965, a world conference of representatives of Communist Parties was held in Moscow. Representatives of 19 countries participated, including those of old Communist Parties of Argentina and Brazil and the new United Socialist Revolutionary Party

of Cuba, as the sole representative of Latin America. This shows the importance that Moscow attributes to the Cuban party in world conference.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us look at the implementation of these principles.

First, we all know what took place in Santo Domingo. On June 13 Jeremiah O'Leary, Latin American writer for the Washington Star capsuled a report from an official U.S. paper compiled by intelligence sources, expert in Communist activities.

The report, chronologically and in narrative form, describes the day-by-day activities in Santo Domingo between April 24 and May 5 of 77 known Communists. Many of the 77 were previously identified as participants in the revolt by U.S. Government sources on May 6, but the new document gives intimate details of their participation before and after the American intervention.

The document discloses that at least 45 of the extremists had been deported from the Dominican Republic a year before and that most of them had received guerrilla warfare training in Cuba before they began drifting back into the Dominican Republic last October. Cuba's principal agency for promoting revolutionary activities in Latin America, the General Directorate of Intelligence—DGI—had for some time been providing financial support to two of the three Dominican Communist parties—the 14th of June Political Group—APCJ—and the Dominican Popular Movement—MPD. The other Dominican Communist group which co-operated in the rebellion is the Dominican Popular Socialist—PSPD—party which follows the Moscow line.

The revolt may have been started by some dissident army officers, but the Communist leaders of all three parties issued orders to their members to incite the civilian crowds gathering in the streets, and to stage rallies and demonstrations. We all have read of the violence, wanton damage and loss of life that ensued.

It is interesting that the Cuban DGI officer who handles revolutionary operations for the Dominican Republic is Roberto Santiesteban Casanova, deported by the United States for engaging in espionage in 1962 while serving with the Cuban delegation to the United Nations.

Time is too short to present further evidence but let us review what has been happening in Latin America since the November meeting of the Latin American Communists.

Venezuela: According to a report issued by the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Pan American Union on May 7:

Communist activities, which have been on the wane at the end of 1964, have broken out again and may be expected to increase with the assistance that Cuba has promised to continue to provide to the Armed Forces of National Liberation.

Cuba is also continuing to provide considerable amounts of money to support subversion in Venezuela.



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Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. I compliment the gentleman on his very provocative statement. I would also ask the gentleman, if the very tactics that are now being used in Latin America are not essentially the same as have been carried out by the Vietcong in Vietnam.

Mr. PUCINSKI. They are the very same tactics. That is why I think this 12th anniversary is of more than passing interest to the American people. There has been too little said about what has been happening in Cuba. There are those who, for instance, criticized our own Government for taking strong action in Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. The fact of the matter is we have now recorded indisputable proof of Communist exploitation of subversion which Castro has been engaging in was to be tried in Santo Domingo.

We can all, as Americans, regardless of what our party affiliations may be, thank the good Lord that we have a President who moved decisively to stop this coup in Santo Domingo.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. I would agree completely with the gentleman, and I am not a member of either the gentleman's party or the President's party. I am convinced in my own mind that had we not taken this quick and decisive action, we certainly would have had another Cuba in this Western Hemisphere. Would the gentleman have any suggestions as to what he believes should be done by the administration in Cuba, however?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I will as I continue my analysis here, because actually it is no longer enough to look at Cuba alone. Our problem of Communist subversion is hemispheric. I think, as I relate here, the serious subversion and exploitation of terrorism from Cuba, we can then see how vastly important is this problem and how large the problem is.

Colombia: With Cuban support, the guerrillas, terrorist groups, and bandits, in alliance with professional Communists, continue their pattern of murders and depredations. In January 1965 the President of the Republic disclosed the existence of a large-scale subversive Communist plot against the government, which was to be launched under cover of a nationwide labor strike. The Communist Youth League of Colombia, a Soviet-oriented group, was implicated in the plan. At the present time Communist leaders, taking advantage of Colombia's political, economic, and social crisis, are formulating terrorist plans and promoting violence in the hinterlands.

Also, the Communist slate won easily in elections 2 months ago for members of the Executive Council of the National Federation of University students known as FUN, the first national organization of students in this country. FUN now claims to represent the students in the 25 Government-supported universities throughout the country. Although the majority of the students are not Communist-oriented, FUN is in control of student political activities.

Guatemala: From Mexico City this month Daniel James reported in the Latin American Times that Castroite guerrillas, formerly confined to rural areas, have recently moved their operations to Guatemala City in a change of strategy designed to generate chaos and disorder there and to force Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia, the chief of state, to fall. The shift has been accompanied by renewed terror and violence which began a few weeks ago with the fatal machine-gunning of the Under Secretary of Defense, Col. Ernesto Molina Arreaga.

Also, on June 7, bombs were hurled at the homes of two newsmen and a Guatemalan political leader. That same night four other bombs exploded at the embassies of Brazil, Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua—all countries which have sent troops to join the Inter-American Peace Force in Santo Domingo.

Honduras: In February, the authorities discovered a cache of weapons and subversive propaganda material and arrested several Communists. Shortly afterward in March an armed group led by a Cuban-trained Communist, attempted to destroy the El Canaveral Dam.

Haiti: On July 19 Miss Virginia Prewett, writing in the Latin American Times, noted that President Duvalier has told the OAS that Castroite infiltrators have moved against him from the Dominican Republic. She said that Duvalier for his own purposes has permitted a "smart, tough, and experienced group of dedicated Communists to become entrenched in his government." Duvalier is ill and as things stand now, any succeeding government will be in control of his Communist aids.

Paraguay: The Associated Press reported early this month that the Paraguayan Government had announced that it had crushed a Communist plot to begin a guerrilla warfare campaign and "make Paraguay a second Cuba." The National Chief of Police told a news conference that "many Communist agents" had been arrested after infiltrating from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. He also said the Communists had set up guerrilla training camps on Argentine and Brazilian territory near the Paraguayan border.

Activities in other countries include:

Argentina: The Communists have attempted to infiltrate some major parties and in the elections held in mid-March of this year, they supported the "Peronista" Popular Union Party.

Brazil: The establishment of the new government in Brazil put a halt to the spread and infiltration of communism. However, efforts are still being made to create a state of guerrilla warfare and to unleash a campaign of terrorism.

Chile: Early in 1965 the Minister of the Interior described acts of terrorism there as very grave and attributed them to groups financed with foreign funds.

Ecuador: Early this year riots occurred in Quito at the end of a march organized by the Federation of University Students of Ecuador during which the National Palace was pelted with stones and Molotov cocktails. Shortly afterward, the authorities discovered a cache of weapons, explosives and propaganda material in

the hands of Communists linked with Cuba.

Nicaragua: Last year authorities discovered a large-scale subversive plot, directed from Havana, designed to establish a Communist government.

Panama: In December 1964, the Governor of Colon declared that:

Personnel trained in Communist China, Cuba and Russia, have attempted a coup against our democratic system and the Communists are trying to deceive the masses in the hope of seeing Panama converted into the second American Republic under the heel of a foreign army.

Peru: Toward the end of January, a typical Communist attack was launched against the U.S. military mission. And in the July 17 Latin American Times, Jay Mallin reported:

Communist guerrillas in Peru, rampaging and ambushing, have served to spotlight a growing Castro-Communist threat throughout the hemisphere which for several months had been obscured by the Dominican crisis.

In a dispatch to the New York Times from Lima on July 21, Juan de Onis reports that:

President Fernando Belaunde Terry said today that Cuba and the Soviet Union were helping Communist "gangsters" bring unrest to his country.

Mr. Belaunde said that in Peru, as in Venezuela, the Communists had adopted extremist tactics of guerrilla action and terrorism "because we are making real social and economic gains, in obvious contrast to Cuba's situation."

In other Latin American countries where "there is inflation and so many other problems" the Communists use less drastic tactics, Mr. Belaunde suggested.

These are some of the terrorist incidents which have erupted in almost every Latin American country with varying intensity. Many of the uprisings are fomented by students, always a fertile field for agitators. As one American diplomat described the current wave of leftist, Communist-inspired disorders, assassinations and terrorism.

"Somebody is giving the whole place a shake."

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. What the gentleman is saying is that our fundamental problem in the Western Hemisphere is one of developing tactics to counter the political warfare that is actually taking place.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. In years past, of course, we had the Monroe Doctrine that was available as our reason for keeping this particular hemisphere secure. It seems to me, if something is going to be recommended, we need to have a similar concept to that which was available for military purposes adopted so as to amend the Monroe Doctrine in order to counter this political warfare problem we have. Would the gentleman agree with that?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman is correct. I think President Johnson's decisive action in Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic certainly has brought our country and the free nations



in the Western Hemisphere back into the orbit of thinking along the lines of the Monroe Doctrine.

Although the OAS agreed in 1964 to defend the rights of individual member nations against aggression through subversion, there has been no action. Yet many of these OAS members, as I said previously, whose countries have been victims of Communist subversion debate the right of the United States to stop Communists from making the Dominican Republic another Cuba. A year ago today the members of the OAS, with the exception of Mexico, voted to break diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba when it was discovered and proved that the Venezuelan charges were substantiated. Because of the Dominican Republic crisis an inter-American peace force is being formed. It is hoped plans for establishing a permanent peace force from the American nations will be formalized and voted on at the foreign ministers meeting in Rio de Janeiro. I think this is one of the high points of our decisive action in the Dominican Republic. I think that that action has given the OAS new courage, new meaning, new direction, and new strategy. If nothing more came out of that action than the creation of a pan-American or inter-American military peacekeeping force, we would have gone a long way toward turning back to the security of the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Does the gentleman feel that the OAS is reacting rapidly enough in order to permit this same concept in any future uprisings?

Mr. PUCINSKI. They are not acting rapidly enough, but I think that the problems I have enumerated here should give you a clue to their own problems. Our problem here is understanding that many of these South American governments are not very stable because of the extent of subversion that exists in those countries. Many of those governments can be toppled overnight. So it is not enough for us to say that they ought to move faster. I think we Americans, first of all, have to recognize that there is a problem. Let us stop kidding ourselves. There is a real serious problem in South America. The analysis I have presented here today indicates the extent of subversion that is now going on in practically every nation in South America.

So what we have to do, it seems to me, is to firm up the political governments of these South American countries and then firm up the OAS; and I think we ought to try and develop this inter-American peacekeeping force as quickly as possible so that these nations that want to stand with us will know that if there is a plot of subversion from Cuba against any one of these countries they will be able to fall back quickly on an inter-American peacekeeping force without suffering the possibility of losing the cohesiveness and continuity of their respective governments.

This is one of the problems ahead of us.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. The gentleman is suggesting then that through this beefing-up process we in effect are going to have to sponsor political organizational information and in effect develop a political offensive where the Federal system of government, that has worked successfully in this country, can be implemented in those areas. But it is going to require people who understand the Federal system of government to assist in implementing this concept in those areas where the problem exists.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman is correct. Some of these points are covered in my statement.

At the present time, according to the State Department, the major instrument of U.S. policy toward Cuba is a systematic program of "economic denial," although this process is not likely to bring down the present regime. Information from Cuba indicates—and this is extremely important—that this economic boycott is relatively successful but cannot be completely effective unless other free world countries cease trading with Cuba.

For example, from 1963 to 1964 Japan's trade with Cuba increased 240 percent; Spain's by 300 percent. England—one of our most notable and loyal allies—has increased her exports to Cuba by 130 percent.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. It could be said that with friends like this who needs enemies?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman is quite correct.

Cuba is a bad economic risk for any trading nation.

As early as 1963 Cuba's trade balance with bloc nations started to deteriorate with their deficit of \$625 million. It was estimated that she owed the Soviet bloc more than \$900 million in trade alone. In addition her debt for technical aid, arms, and so forth, is \$1.5 billion to Russia; \$430 million to Czechoslovakia; \$250 million to Poland; \$85 million to Hungary; \$70 million to Rumania, and to several countries in the Western Hemisphere another \$165 million.

In 1963 the trade balance of Cuba with Western countries was favorable in the amount of \$65 million. However, this had to be used for other necessities, so Cuba is now almost with no dollar reserve. Last year she had only \$20 million in reserve and this year her financial situation will be much worse.

The U.S.S.R. made two loans to her of \$50 million and \$16 million each at the end of 1964 to cover her letters of credit with Western countries and to buy basic materials necessary to the sugar and nickel industries. At the end of 1964 Cuba had exceeded her budget for imports by \$300 million, and the outlook for 1965 is far worse in spite of a normal sugar harvest.

The biggest job we have ahead of us is to convince our free world allies that by trading with Cuba they are helping

perpetuate the Communist regime of Fidel Castro and holding the people of Cuba in a state of slavery and desperation. Not only that, they are financing and support Communist propaganda and subversive activities originating in Cuba.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Could the gentleman tell me what the State Department thinks of this comment? Are they doing something about this to follow what the gentleman is now suggesting?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I should like to lay these facts before the coordinate branch of the Government, the legislative branch of the Government here, this body.

I should like to lay these facts before this body, as I am doing today on this 12th anniversary, in order to show my colleagues and the American people the full toll of letting the Communists remain in Cuba.

It is my hope we will then be able to explore the reactions from the State Department and the other interested agencies.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Well, the gentleman has certainly provided Members of Congress with an excellent record. My only regret is that there are not more Members on the floor to hear the gentleman. We have less than six Members on the floor, in my judgment. It is very regrettable, because I believe every Member of Congress should have heard this fine special order that the gentleman has taken the time to prepare.

Could the gentleman tell me if it is possible to reveal the sources of the gentleman's information?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Much of this information is obtained from, as I have said before, newspaper reports, reports of reliable newspapers, published both in the United States and in South American countries. Much of this information is available from publicly documented sources that have come to our attention in the Cuban Freedom Committee, and much of this information is made available through the sources and the people who write to us, not only from Cuba but people who hear our broadcasts in other parts of South America and who have to rely in many instances upon these broadcasts sponsored by the Cuban Freedom Committee which, incidentally, is a committee made up exclusively of American citizens, people, many of whom have never been to Cuba, although the executive director had been a teacher in Cuba before the Communists took over, as well as from informed letters which we receive from other countries in South America written by people who hear our broadcasts.

As I stated earlier, our broadcasts may serve in many instances as the only source of straight reliable world news, because this is primarily all we broadcast. We broadcast news from the world and the people of Cuba and the people of other South American countries who

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hear these broadcasts which emanate from Miami, from Florida, and from New Orleans, these people have learned to rely on our broadcasts, because we do not engage in propaganda, and we give them the truth. We give them news over the wire services, the same news that Americans and the people of all the free world are receiving. And these people have learned to respect us for our integrity, and as a result they write in and most of the information that we get is from these very reliable sources.

I wonder, if I may, just touch on this point because it may be of interest to the gentleman from California? The point I was going to make was this—

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. It is of interest to me because I have met the worthy organization which the gentleman is discussing and, furthermore, I have had some personal contacts with people in these various countries of the world through a missionary program with which I worked for a number of years.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And, of course, the missionaries very often are excellent in their analyses.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. It seems to me that the people should know more about what is going on in these areas than the State Department.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman would be interested to know that just a week ago radio Havana in a broadcast to Latin America—the gentleman asked me how we get this information—said:

We wish to inform you that starting July 28 we will increase the number of frequencies through which we broadcast in Spanish to Latin America, North America, and Central America. Besides the normal frequencies you will be able to hear us on 25, 16, and 7 megacycles."

On July 21, Ramiro Puertas, Director of the Cuban Institute of Radio, announced over CMQ Havana, that this year the Institute will install a 150,000-watt station in Havana and another of the same power in San German, Oriente; two other 60,000-watt stations in Camaguey and Oriente Provinces for radio Rebelde network. On July 26, another 10,000-watt station will be inaugurated in Guantanamo; still another 60,000-watt station will be built in Cacocum, Oriente, for radio Progreso network, which will have an additional 5,000-watt station in Baracoa.

Also, they are installing French TV equipment to improve reception between Camaguey, Guaimaro; and Victoria de las Tunas. It is important to know that this is French equipment—equipment being supplied to Communist Cuba by our supposed ally, France.

To show Cuba's importance to the Communists' dream of world domination, I will read you another news dispatch:

The French Press Agency reported from Cairo on July 16 that the Cuban Ambassador to Egypt, before leaving for home, had announced that a conference of popular movements of three continents will be held in Havana on January 6, 1966. It had been decided at the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Accra in May to extend the movement to Latin America. Representatives of popular movements of six Latin

American countries will participate in the preliminary planning meetings which will begin in Cairo on September 1. The countries are: Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, Uruguay, Chile, and Guatemala. The planning committees also will include delegates of five African countries: Egypt, Algiers, Morocco, Guinea, South Africa, and six Asian countries—the People's Republic of China, the U.S.S.R., India, Indonesia, Japan, and South Vietnam.

There you have it, Mr. Speaker, in the bold, broad strokes of Communist takeover under our very noses. Two years ago the United States seemed to be at least in some measure awake to the Cuban danger. Today, I fear we are letting the immediate and close-to-home problem take a secondary position in our planning and our defense. Mr. Speaker, I affirm to this House that in such a course lies hemispheric disaster.

#### FREEWHEELING DISARMAMENT BINGE ENDANGERS NATIONAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] is recognized for 40 minutes.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, disarmament fervor runs high in Washington today. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's—ACDA—budget has ballooned several hundred percent since its inception in 1961. Friends of Disarmament from intellectual and academic circles in large numbers have enlisted voluntarily in the cause. Prof. Jerome Wiesner, the former White House science adviser, recommends developing "a cadre of people whose full-time occupation" is to reorient public attitudes. He wants them "to create a vested interest in arms control"—whatever that may mean.

Unless forces in the United States who recognize the danger of unrestrained disarmament quickly organize and articulate their position, the administration's cadre of dedicated disarmers soon will take the Nation past the point of no return on its flight from the proven strategy of arming to avoid trouble to the yet unproven strategy of disarming to avoid it.

#### DISARMERS WORK QUIETLY AND EFFECTIVELY

The disarmers carry on their work unobtrusively. As yet the public is not conditioned to disarmament. The majority of Americans still believes world peace as well as national survival depends on strength coupled with negotiation rather than negotiation alone. The average person is scared half out of his wits when some enterprising writer digs out and publicizes facts on various ACDA-sponsored disarmament studies. This was the case when things came to light as the study on togetherness with Russia and its study suggesting self-imposed limitations on intelligence gathering efforts.

The work of Washington's disarmers is being made easier by the seemingly calculated elimination of top military spokesmen capable of communicating authoritatively with the American public. Such popular figures as Admiral Arleigh

"31 Knot" Burke and cigar-chomping Gen. Curtis LeMay are on the retired rolls. No successors have been permitted to develop public prominence. Probably not one person in a thousand can even name our present Chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

A tribute to the steady progress of the disarmers came recently in the form of a lack of outcry when a U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., the late Adlai Stevenson, promised a further softening of the American position on test ban treaty safeguards. When negotiations for a comprehensive treaty broke off in 1963, U.S. demands for annual inspections in Soviet territory had been whittled from 20 to 7. Khrushchev still adamantly maintained "three or four" would be ample. Stevenson promised that the Johnson administration now "is willing to explore" further what constitutes "an adequate inspection system."

Public apathy toward the possible consequences of the promise has encouraged and accelerated preparation of many other advanced disarmament positions, some of which President Johnson is expected to offer the Soviets when the 18-nation Disarmament Conference reconvenes in Geneva tomorrow.

These include:

#### U.N. MULTILATERAL NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

This proposal calls for pledges by nuclear have-not nations to refrain from seeking nuclear capabilities in exchange for pledges from the U.N.'s nuclear "haves" to aid them if they fall victim to atomic aggression. Whether the occurrence of "aggression" is to be determined by the U.N.'s frequently paralyzed General Assembly, its veto-ridden Security Council, the non-nuclear victim or the nuclear pledgegiver is uncertain.

#### TOTAL TEST BAN TREATY

This proposal to enlarge the present limited test ban treaty to include a bar against tests underground as well as in other environments would be based on "splitting the difference" between United States and U.S.S.R. inspection demands and fixing the number at five annually. Professor Wiesner and ACDA believe "five inspections per year will provide adequate security against clandestine nuclear testing." However, hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy cast considerable doubt on this optimistic assessment. Additionally, they raised monumental doubts whether even unlimited opportunities for inspection could penetrate the precautions of a determined cheater. This is because the Soviets insist on severe limitations on factors affecting the quality as well as the quantity of inspections. These include tight restrictions on size and composition of inspection teams, allowable inspection techniques, permissible equipment, mode and freedom of travel and communications, length of the inspection period and the like.

#### DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Several years ago the disarmament concept of "we'll burn our bombers and you burn yours" was seriously considered. Its current adaptation is expected to take the form of a proposal that the United States and U.S.S.R. junk

tails and dimensions of the housing problem in the Nation's Capital."

Existing data is stale, incomplete, and inadequate," Sheppard said. "Almost every one living in Washington is aware generally that we are confronted with a housing problem which is growing more serious day by day. But now we want the facts. The unvarnished and whole truth will give us a realistic basis to solve the problem."

"Now the citizens living in these areas have volunteered to go out personally, interview their neighbors and then collect the information which will help us define our goals and strategies. What we need now is more decent, safe housing that low-income people can afford."

"This is a burning issue with us. We feel that poor housing is one of the strongest contributing causes of poverty," he said.

The census is being conducted in three neighborhoods in the Cardozo area of Northwest Washington; in the neighborhood around Friendship House, 619 G Street SE; in the neighborhood around Southeast House across the Anacostia River, 2243 Mount View Place SE, and in two areas in the Northeast.

One is in the near Northeast, bounded by New York Avenue, Mount Olivet Road, M Street, and the Anacostia River. Another is in the far Northeast, bounded on two sides by the Prince Georges County line, and by Fort Dupont Road and the Anacostia River, and a third in urban renewal area Northwest No. 1 around Union Station.

A five-page survey form includes questions on the number of people living in a dwelling, their income, rent, and mortgage schedules. Interviewers will seek information from renters about landlord-tenant relationships, lease patterns and eviction problems.

They will pinpoint the actual physical conditions of each dwelling unit, sanitary conditions, the state of repair or disrepair, heating facilities, and trash and garbage collection service.

Interviewers have been organized into area teams by the neighborhood advisory councils.

Data gathered will be tallied from August 4-7. A report will be issued to the community August 8. This is expected to be followed by an action program based on the recommendations.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 20, 1965]

#### COMPLIANCE ON REPAIRS IS OFTEN LONG DELAYED

Both landlord and tenant complain about the lack of a clear standard for enforcement. The landlord says different inspectors use different criteria for spotting violations, and the tenants complain that the lack of quality control permits landlords to use cheap materials in repairs. The code specified only that a "workmanlike" job be done.

Neighborhood workers attempting to help slum dwellers with their housing problems have been annoyed by the housing division's policy of allowing only landlords and tenants to see violations records. Mallon said he was making an exception to his rule when reporters, after filling out detailed forms requiring both Mallon's and the Corporation Counsel's signatures, were permitted to see the records.

All the division's records are filed by street address. There is no central file listing violators by name. The inspectors become familiar with habitual offenders, but there is no easy way to determine any owner's entire history of code violations.

But mostly it is the long delays and the constant threat of retaliating evictions that frustrate slum dwellers seeking to get repairs in their homes. And perhaps it is the delays that have led to the suspicion by the tenants that inspectors can be bought off by landlords.

One real estate man said that years ago, owners and agents always provided the inspectors with generous Christmas gifts.

"We all used to do it," he said, "but then one time an inspector came by to get his gift, and I saw his car was packed full of whiskey so I cut it out."

The agent said he now occasionally will ask an inspector to come by one of his properties to advise him about repairs that will be necessary to meet the code. "I usually give them \$5 or \$10 for the favor," he said, "but I've only done this a couple of dozen times in the past 25 years."

S. Tudor Strang, deputy superintendent of the housing division, said: "If we knew the point where slum landlords will leave the market and be replaced by people not interested in exploiting tenants. But stepped-up enforcement at Mallon points out, would require considerably more inspectors."

Several weeks ago, District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner suggested what he calls a "reformulation" of the code. He agrees with many slum landlords—that the minor aspects of the code should not be emphasized.

Tobriner fears that with strict enforcement and lower profits "the landlord either evicts the tenants, rehabilitates the property and rents to high income groups, or evicts the tenants, razes the building and converts the land to some other use."

"There is a dilemma," Tobriner said. Tough enforcement could have the unintended effect of reducing the housing supply rather than improving housing conditions.

Still other complaints about slum housing center on the Landlord and Tenant Court. Cases handled there last year amounted to more than 96,000 and Chief Judge John Lewis Smith, Jr., estimates the figure will exceed 100,000 this year.

The proceedings in the court are summary, usually without extensive argument. More than 95 percent of the cases in the court deal with nonpayment of rent while most of the others involve housing code violations.

In the nonpayment cases, Smith said, if the tenant admits having not paid the rent, the only judgment possible will be in favor of the landlord. The law does not give the tenant the right to withhold his rent because his landlord has failed to make repairs or improvements, Smith said.

The wording of the law and the role of the judges in enforcing the law have led slum dwellers to complain that the court is merely a collection agency for landlords.

Civil rights organizations and antipoverty officials in Washington are now seeking changes in the law, but Smith said that whatever reforms are made must come through legislation or appellate court decisions, not from the Landlord and Tenant Court.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 14, 1965]

#### POTOMAC WATCH—CITY'S HOUSING SHORTAGE THE TARGET, FRUSTRATION THE THEME AT DISCUSSION

(By George Lardner Jr.)

Frustration was the theme.

The city's shortage of low-cost housing was the target. The audience sounded aroused. But the members of more than 25 housing organizations, civil rights groups, and public agencies who gathered to try to "do something" about the housing crisis seemed to realize they were punching futilely at the same old paper bag—full of exorbitant rents, dilapidated homes, slumlords, and the bureaucratic delays facing almost any attempt at improvement.

"We seem to be moving backwards," said Stephen J. Pollak, president-elect of the Washington Planning and Housing Association which called the meeting.

"A tent on the Mall would be an enormous improvement for more people than I

care to think of," said Harris Weinstein, the association's housing committee chairman.

The District of Columbia Coalition of Conscience has been trying to put up a tent for a family of 13—with two working mothers—who were evicted last month, but can't find new quarters. The emergency housing program the city loudly promised in May for predicaments like this may take another 3 months to get started, according to city officials who are not accustomed to rushing.

Forty-five real estate agents and nine public and private agencies had been called, said Coalition Co-Chairman Walter E. Fauntroy, but none could come up with a single unit that the family could afford.

The tent, of course, is a gimmick—but an appropriate one. As Mr. Fauntroy said, "we have to create pressure to effect the cures."

One WPHA worker who helps families in the Cardozo area told of an eight-room house worth \$17,600 that produces gross rentals of \$600 a month for its owner.

The worker, Tom Flor, also told of another landlord who "for the 40th time in the last 6 months has evicted or threatened to evict families because they called the city's Housing Division" to get needed repairs ordered.

Another WPHA worker, Belvie Rooks, broke into tears when she described how her organization had to pay \$300 a month in back rent to "one of the worst slumlords in the city" to save a mother of seven from eviction from a house with broken-down plumbing and inadequate heating. The family, Miss Rooks said, had been living there for 3 years when the old owner died. Suddenly, she said, the rent went up from \$50 a month with utilities to \$100 a month—without utilities.

The audience had plenty of suggestions—ranging from rent controls, to tougher enforcement of the housing code to easing the housing code's restrictions against overcrowding.

Mr. Fauntroy suggested that citizens' organizations start scouring the suburbs for sites—a suggestion that should be well worth pursuing under the administration's rent subsidy program before Congress. He proposed that "we move into the surrounding area and, if necessary, purchase land to relieve the (city's housing) need."

But no one followed through with the thought. Despite the suggestions, the meeting reflected, primarily, a feeling of exasperation at all the years gone by without any substantial progress.

"What we called victories really just switched people around the slums," said Lillian Secundy of the Washington Urban League.

The WPHA had drafted a statement calling for more low-income housing in the city and action on several long-stalled projects, but the audience didn't bother to endorse it.

"Pious paragraphs," said one speaker. "Too wishy-washy," said another.

Pollak agreed, but added: "I'm wondering what we can do." He suggested development of a "plan of action" backed by a federation of all interested organizations. But no one could do anything right away. They've got their boards of directors to check with.

Everyone, it seems, is saddled with his own bureaucracy—which brings us back to the District Building.

District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner has suggested "an emergency in low-cost housing" might be declared—so the Commissioners could temporarily lift relatively minor housing code requirements in run-down neighborhoods.

The suggestion was sincerely made, but it hardly seems an adequate response to an emergency. If it had any noticeable effect, it would probably benefit the landlords more

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than the tenants, and promote slums rather than decent housing.

If the Commissioners can agree there's an "emergency"—and there is—perhaps they might try promoting some one- or two-block urban renewal projects—for public housing. It might not work, but it seems worth the attempt. It'll take a while to get to the suburbs.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 15, 1965]

#### NEW GROUP TO PUSH LOW INCOME HOUSING (By Benjamin Forgey)

An informal District organization calling itself the Ad Hoc Committee on the Housing Crisis was formed last night to seek an increase in low-income housing.

Representatives of about 20 housing, civil rights, labor, political, welfare and church organizations endorsed the program, but left the exact nature of the new group in doubt as they returned to report to their own organizations.

Harris Weinstein, chairman of the housing committee of the Washington Planning and Housing Association, said he hoped action on some of the proposals would begin this week.

The most "immediate and substantial need," Weinstein told the group, was to lobby for balanced residential use of the Anacostia-Bolling and National Training School sites. Competing proposals for use of these tracts, the last large, available publicly owned sites in the District, are being discussed in Congress.

The group also voted to urge the District Commissioners to use "whatever powers they now have" to make repairs on slum properties and charge the repairs to landlords.

According to the resolution, the Commissioners will also be asked to seek legislation preventing "retaliatory" evictions and rent increases.

Also proposed was a "housing crisis week-end" during which clergymen will focus their sermons on the need for low-income housing and a tour of the District's slums for interested public officials.

The meeting was the result of a WPHA effort to "bring the housing needs of the District before the public" and was a follow-up an initial session held last Thursday.

#### FOREIGN POLICY MISMANAGEMENT

(Mr. DERWINSKI (at the request of Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the continued deterioration of our conduct of foreign affairs is seen in many parts of the world. However, the spineless handling of the Nasser administration in Egypt certainly is fully indicative of foreign policy mismanagement.

When are we going to wake up and realize that we are being taken for a ride? Egypt is doing a good job of making a fool out of the United States. Less than a month ago, Egypt's Nasser took a full advantage of American willingness to hand out free wheat. Now, we find out that the Agency for International Development gave Egypt over 23 million dollars' worth of corn in 1961 on the basis of an out and out misrepresentation.

My distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN], has called attention to the report of the General Accounting Office that a shipment of 186,000 metric tons of corn to Egypt under the auspices of AID was obtained under false pretenses. The grant

was made on the basis of reports from the Communist-sympathizing country of a potential famine because of a serious crop failure. It was later disclosed that no crop failure occurred and much of the corn had been sold by Egypt.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] further disclosed that AID officials found out Egypt was selling some of the corn even before the whole grant was shipped. With over \$11 million worth still in the hands of U.S. officials, AID apparently made no attempt to hold the shipments until the matter could be investigated. The GAO report charged that AID did not check on distribution of over 85 percent of the corn, and it has been substantiated that at least 80,000 tons have been sold by the Egyptian Government.

This report confirms what I have been saying for years. The administration will spend taxpayers' dollars to give aid to any country which stretches out its hand. I want to commend the General Accounting Office on its alertness. I hope this report opens some eyes in Washington. If it does not, it seems we will continue to help a country that openly degrades the United States and is critical of our policy.

What is needed is action by the Congress to insure that any future grants would be made only when it is assured that all the aid goes for the purpose for which it was intended. Apparently, the Agency for International Development does not do this now.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee which has been dutifully rubberstamping administration measures for years, I would hope that the committee would recognize its legislative responsibilities and concentrate on implementation of a foreign policy whereby we would reject the blackmail pressures from rulers such as Nasser.

Nasser is using anti-Israel statements as a smokescreen for his domestic failures, and there is no reason why we should prop up his administration, which is carrying on an aggressive military action against the legitimate government and people of Yemen.

(Mr. BURTON of Utah (at the request of Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BURTON of Utah's remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

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#### MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMISSION ON THE COINAGE

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89-81, the Chair appoints as members of the Joint Commission on the Coinage the following

Members on the part of the House: MESSRS. EDMONDSON, GAIAMO, CONTE, and BATTIN.

#### FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2984) entitled "An act to amend the Public Health Service Act provisions for construction of health research facilities by extending the expiration date thereof and providing increased support for the program, to authorize additional assistant secretaries in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2985) entitled "An act to authorize assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 7984) entitled "An act to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 510) entitled "An act to extend and otherwise amend certain expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services, and for other purposes."

#### TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF CUBA POSES A THREAT TO AMERICA AS GREAT AS THE THREAT IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 12 years ago today Fidel Castro and his brother, Raul, with 101 others overran the Moncada Army Barracks in Cuba. This was the beginning of Castro's war to overthrow Batista. It was the beginning of Castro's betrayal of the Cuban people by permitting the Soviets to establish the first Communist regime in



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the Western Hemisphere. This day is now celebrated by the Communists as the 26th of July movement.

Two years ago Members on both sides of this aisle joined in presenting to the House a series of addresses about a plan "to fight the cold war and to win back Cuba for democracy."

Today, 2 years later, here we are on dead center. We face the same problem: "What to do about Cuba?"

For the record, let us review the situation in that beleaguered island only 90 miles from the eastern coastline of the United States.

Cuba, once a prosperous country; with one of the highest standards of living in Latin America, has been reduced to a primitive society. There is no freedom of the individual, no free press or radio. Letters received by Free Cuba Radio from Cuba tell of hunger, insufficient clothing, few daily necessities—the paralysis of much industry. Marxism dominates school curriculum from the nursery up through university level. The army is Soviet trained and the people are terrorized by informers in the so-called defense committees. Even the children are forced to spy on their parents. Conservatively, 80,000 Cuban men and women are now in jail, forced to live under indescribable conditions. Daily executions are commonplace.

Despite a good sugar harvest this year, the economy is at rock bottom. Castro has few dollars for exchange. Diseases have reached epidemic proportions among both people and livestock. Medicines and qualified doctors are scarce, health measures deplorable. Child mortality continues to mount. Out of a population of approximately 7 million, 500,000 have left the country. It is estimated that 230,000 Cubans hold passports and visas and are eager to leave. More than 400,000 others have filled out request forms. It is reported that from 85 to 90 percent of the people in Cuba are against the Communist regime.

How and why then do the Communists stay in power? The answer is that with 500,000 men and women under arms and with a highly trained secret police, the G-2, the Cuban people live in constant terror and under suppression of these spies and guns.

Castro's aim was not to free the Cuban people from Batista's dictatorship. His whole design was to create an arsenal and launching pad for Communist subversion to carry on their "wars of liberation" in Latin America. The New York Times in a recent editorial, put it this way:

The wars of liberation are aimed primarily against the United States. Anywhere in the non-Communist world, a gain for the East is a loss for the West and the United States is the major power in the free world.

For the past 2 years there has been comparatively little talk about Cuba. Vietnam has crowded Havana from the front pages. Many well-meaning Americans have been lulled to complacency by the coexistence line and that Cuba is no threat to the United States. In the meantime, Communist propaganda and

subversion emanating from the Cuban launching pad are defeating our foreign policy. On March 10 Hewson A. Ryan, associate director for policy and plans of the U.S. Information Service, before a Senate Committee, pointed out the direction the propaganda of the Communist nations is taking:

Communist propaganda strategy for Latin America is directed toward the destruction of U.S. power and influence in the area and ultimately to the imposition of Marxist-Leninist regimes throughout the hemisphere. In a Pravda editorial of January 14, 1965, and in the subsequent communique on the Havana meeting of Latin American Communist Parties, Moscow has made it clear that in Latin America it will use "all forms of struggle, both peaceful and nonpeaceful" to further the goals of international communism. While the U.S.S.R., Red China, and Cuba differ little on their ultimate aims in Latin America, their short-term propaganda strategy and tactics do vary somewhat.

The major themes in Cuban propaganda are "independence from Yankee imperialism" and the "advantages of a Socialist economy." To carry on their propaganda activities in Latin America the Communists utilize in varying degrees all the modern communications media. Radio Havana is broadcasting 125 hours weekly in Spanish, 14 hours in Creole for Haiti, 7 hours each in Portuguese and English, an hour and 20 minutes in Guarani for Paraguay, and 30 minutes in Aymara. Cuba's Spanish service includes a regular program for Venezuela, which has been used by members of the Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation exiled in Cuba to broadcast direct appeals for insurrection against the Venezuelan Government. Turncoats from Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, Peru, and Dominican Republic broadcast frequently to their respective home countries from Cuba, also. The Cuban service even includes a weekly half hour program entitled "The Voice of Free Dixie" and is directed to the American Negro population.

Although not generally known until Pravda reported it on January 14 of this year, Central and South American Communist Party leaders, together with Moscow agents and Castro, and his aides, met in Havana in late November 1964, to plan their combined strategy for further subverting Latin America.

The report of the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Pan American Union—April 12–May 7, 1965—derived the following conclusions from the conference of the Communists:

That, for the present, Cuba agrees to continue to follow Moscow's lead.

That the Castro regime will continue to serve as the principle tool of communism for the subversion of the Americas.

That an increase of Communist subversive activities in the Americas is to be expected.

At that meeting, they selected as their prime target for subversion, in a virtual declaration of war, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, and Haiti. They omitted the Dominican Republic, their pilot project, for which battle plans already had been drawn.

Also, in the early part of March 1965, a world conference of representatives of Communist Parties was held in Moscow. Representatives of 19 countries participated, including those of old Communist Parties of Argentina and Brazil and the new United Socialist Revolutionary Party

of Cuba, as the sole representative of Latin America. This shows the importance that Moscow attributes to the Cuban party in world conference.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us look at the implementation of these principles.

First, we all know what took place in Santo Domingo. On June 13 Jeremiah O'Leary, Latin American writer for the Washington Star capsuled a report from an official U.S. paper compiled by intelligence sources, expert in Communist activities.

The report, chronologically and in narrative form, describes the day-by-day activities in Santo Domingo between April 24 and May 5 of 77 known Communists. Many of the 77 were previously identified as participants in the revolt by U.S. Government sources on May 6, but the new document gives intimate details of their participation before and after the American intervention.

The document discloses that at least 45 of the extremists had been deported from the Dominican Republic a year before and that most of them had received guerrilla warfare training in Cuba before they began drifting back into the Dominican Republic last October. Cuba's principal agency for promoting revolutionary activities in Latin America, the General Directorate of Intelligence—DGI—had for some time been providing financial support to two of the three Dominican Communist parties—the 14th of June Political Group—APCJ—and the Dominican Popular Movement—MPD. The other Dominican Communist group which cooperated in the rebellion is the Dominican Popular Socialist—PSPD—party which follows the Moscow line.

The revolt may have been started by some dissident army officers, but the Communist leaders of all three parties issued orders to their members to incite the civilian crowds gathering in the streets, and to stage rallies and demonstrations. We all have read of the violence, wanton damage and loss of life that ensued.

It is interesting that the Cuban DGI officer who handles revolutionary operations for the Dominican Republic is Roberto Santiesteban Casanova, deported by the United States for engaging in espionage in 1962 while serving with the Cuban delegation to the United Nations.

Time is too short to present further evidence but let us review what has been happening in Latin America since the November meeting of the Latin American Communists.

Venezuela: According to a report issued by the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Pan American Union on May 7:

Communist activities, which have been on the wane at the end of 1964, have broken out again and may be expected to increase with the assistance that Cuba has promised to continue to provide to the Armed Forces of National Liberation.

Cuba is also continuing to provide considerable amounts of money to support subversion in Venezuela.



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Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. I compliment the gentleman on his very provocative statement. I would also ask the gentleman if the very tactics that are now being used in Latin America are not essentially the same as have been carried out by the Vietcong in Vietnam.

Mr. PUCINSKI. They are the very same tactics. That is why I think this 12th anniversary is of more than passing interest to the American people. There has been too little said about what has been happening in Cuba. There are those who, for instance, criticized our own Government for taking strong action in Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. The fact of the matter is we have now recorded indisputable proof of Communist exploitation of subversion which Castro has been engaging in was to be tried in Santo Domingo.

We can all, as Americans, regardless of what our party affiliations may be, thank the good Lord that we have a President who moved decisively to stop this coup in Santo Domingo.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. I would agree completely with the gentleman, and I am not a member of either the gentleman's party or the President's party. I am convinced in my own mind that had we not taken this quick and decisive action, we certainly would have had another Cuba in this Western Hemisphere. Would the gentleman have any suggestions as to what he believes should be done by the administration in Cuba, however?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I will as I continue my analysis here, because actually it is no longer enough to look at Cuba alone. Our problem of Communist subversion is hemispheric. I think, as I relate here, the serious subversion and exploitation of terrorism from Cuba, we can then see how vastly important is this problem and how large the problem is.

Colombia: With Cuban support, the guerrillas, terrorist groups, and bandits, in alliance with professional Communists, continue their pattern of murders and depredations. In January 1965 the President of the Republic disclosed the existence of a large-scale subversive Communist plot against the government, which was to be launched under cover of a nationwide labor strike. The Communist Youth League of Colombia, a Soviet-oriented group, was implicated in the plan. At the present time Communist leaders, taking advantage of Colombia's political, economic, and social crisis, are formulating terrorist plans and promoting violence in the hinterlands.

Also, the Communist slate won easily in elections 2 months ago for members of the Executive Council of the National Federation of University students known as FUN, the first national organization of students in this country. FUN now claims to represent the students in the 25 Government-supported universities throughout the country. Although the majority of the students are not Communist-oriented, FUN is in control of student political activities.

Guatemala: From Mexico City this month Daniel James reported in the Latin American Times that Castroite guerrillas, formerly confined to rural areas, have recently moved their operations to Guatemala City in a change of strategy designed to generate chaos and disorder there and to force Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia, the chief of state, to fall. The shift has been accompanied by renewed terror and violence which began a few weeks ago with the fatal machine-gunning of the Under Secretary of Defense, Col. Ernesto Molina Arreaga.

Also, on June 7, bombs were hurled at the homes of two newsmen and a Guatemalan political leader. That same night four other bombs exploded at the embassies of Brazil, Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua—all countries which have sent troops to join the Inter-American Peace Force in Santo Domingo.

Honduras: In February, the authorities discovered a cache of weapons and subversive propaganda material and arrested several Communists. Shortly afterward in March an armed group led by a Cuban-trained Communist, attempted to destroy the El Canaveral Dam.

Haiti: On July 19 Miss Virginia Prewett, writing in the Latin American Times, noted that President Duvalier has told the OAS that Castroite infiltrators have moved against him from the Dominican Republic. She said that Duvalier for his own purposes has permitted a "smart, tough, and experienced group of dedicated Communists to become entrenched in his government." Duvalier is ill and as things stand now, any succeeding government will be in control of his Communist ads.

Paraguay: The Associated Press reported early this month that the Paraguayan Government had announced that it had crushed a Communist plot to begin a guerrilla warfare campaign and "make Paraguay a second Cuba." The National Chief of Police told a news conference that "many Communist agents" had been arrested after infiltrating from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. He also said the Communists had set up guerrilla training camps on Argentine and Brazilian territory near the Paraguayan border.

Activities in other countries include:

Argentina: The Communists have attempted to infiltrate some major parties and in the elections held in mid-March of this year, they supported the "Peronista" Popular Union Party.

Brazil: The establishment of the new government in Brazil put a halt to the spread and infiltration of communism. However, efforts are still being made to create a state of guerrilla warfare and to unleash a campaign of terrorism.

Chile: Early in 1965 the Minister of the Interior described acts of terrorism there as very grave and attributed them to groups financed with foreign funds.

Ecuador: Early this year riots occurred in Quito at the end of a march organized by the Federation of University Students of Ecuador during which the National Palace was pelted with stones and Molotov cocktails. Shortly afterward, the authorities discovered a cache of weapons, explosives and propaganda material in

the hands of Communists linked with Cuba.

Nicaragua: Last year authorities discovered a large-scale subversive plot, directed from Havana, designed to establish a Communist government.

Panama: In December 1964, the Governor of Colon declared that:

Personnel trained in Communist China, Cuba and Russia have attempted a coup against our democratic system and the Communists are trying to deceive the masses in the hope of seeing Panama converted into the second American Republic under the heel of a foreign army.

Peru: Toward the end of January, a typical Communist attack was launched against the U.S. military mission. And in the July 17 Latin American Times, Jay Mallin reported:

Communist guerrillas in Peru, rampaging and ambushing, have served to spotlight a growing Castro-Communist threat throughout the hemisphere which for several months had been obscured by the Dominican crisis.

In a dispatch to the New York Times from Lima on July 21, Juan de Onis reports that:

President Fernando Belaunde Terry said today that Cuba and the Soviet Union were helping Communist "gangsters" bring unrest to his country.

Mr. Belaunde said that in Peru, as in Venezuela, the Communists had adopted extremist tactics of guerrilla action and terrorism "because we are making real social and economic gains, in obvious contrast to Cuba's situation."

In other Latin American countries where "there is inflation and so many other problems," the Communists use less drastic tactics, Mr. Belaunde suggested.

These are some of the terrorist incidents which have erupted in almost every Latin American country with varying intensity. Many of the uprisings are fomented by students, always a fertile field for agitators. As one American diplomat described the current wave of leftist, Communist-inspired disorders, assassinations and terrorism.

"Somebody is giving the whole place a shake."

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. What the gentleman is saying is that our fundamental problem in the Western Hemisphere is one of developing tactics to counter the political warfare that is actually taking place.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. In years past, of course, we had the Monroe Doctrine that was available as our reason for keeping this particular hemisphere secure. It seems to me, if something is going to be recommended, we need to have a similar concept to that which was available for military purposes adopted so as to amend the Monroe Doctrine in order to counter this political warfare problem we have. Would the gentleman agree with that?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman is correct. I think President Johnson's decisive action in Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic certainly has brought our country and the free nations

in the Western Hemisphere back into the orbit of thinking along the lines of the Monroe Doctrine.

Although the OAS agreed in 1964 to defend the rights of individual member nations against aggression through subversion, there has been no action. Yet many of these OAS members, as I said previously, whose countries have been victims of Communist subversion debate the right of the United States to stop Communists from making the Dominican Republic another Cuba. A year ago today the members of the OAS, with the exception of Mexico, voted to break diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba when it was discovered and proved that the Venezuelan charges were substantiated. Because of the Dominican Republic crisis an inter-American peace force is being formed. It is hoped plans for establishing a permanent peace force from the American nations will be formalized and voted on at the foreign ministers meeting in Rio de Janeiro. I think this is one of the high points of our decisive action in the Dominican Republic. I think that that action has given the OAS new courage, new meaning, new direction, and new strategy. If nothing more came out of that action than the creation of a pan-American or inter-American military peacekeeping force, we would have gone a long way toward turning back to the security of the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Does the gentleman feel that the OAS is reacting rapidly enough in order to permit this same concept in any future uprisings?

Mr. PUCINSKI. They are not acting rapidly enough, but I think that the problems I have enumerated here should give you a clue to their own problems. Our problem here is understanding that many of these South American governments are not very stable because of the extent of subversion that exists in those countries. Many of those governments can be toppled overnight. So it is not enough for us to say that they ought to move faster. I think we Americans, first of all, have to recognize that there is a problem. Let us stop kidding ourselves. There is a real serious problem in South America. The analysis I have presented here today indicates the extent of subversion that is now going on in practically every nation in South America.

So what we have to do, it seems to me, is to firm up the political governments of these South American countries and then firm up the OAS; and I think we ought to try and develop this inter-American peacekeeping force as quickly as possible so that these nations that want to stand with us will know that if there is a plot of subversion from Cuba against any one of these countries they will be able to fall back quickly on an inter-American peacekeeping force without suffering the possibility of losing the cohesiveness and continuity of their respective governments.

This is one of the problems ahead of us.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. The gentleman is suggesting then that through this beefing-up process we in effect are going to have to sponsor political organizational information and in effect develop a political offensive where the Federal system of government, that has worked successfully in this country, can be implemented in those areas. But it is going to require people who understand the Federal system of government to assist in implementing this concept in those areas where the problem exists.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman is correct. Some of these points are covered in my statement.

At the present time, according to the State Department, the major instrument of U.S. policy toward Cuba is a systematic program of "economic denial," although this process is not likely to bring down the present regime. Information from Cuba indicates—and this is extremely important—that this economic boycott is relatively successful but cannot be completely effective unless other free world countries cease trading with Cuba.

For example, from 1963 to 1964 Japan's trade with Cuba increased 240 percent; Spain's by 300 percent. England—one of our most notable and loyal allies—has increased her exports to Cuba by 130 percent.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. It could be said that with friends like this who needs enemies?

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman is quite correct.

Cuba is a bad economic risk for any trading nation.

As early as 1963 Cuba's trade balance with bloc nations started to deteriorate with their deficit of \$625 million. It was estimated that she owed the Soviet bloc more than \$900 million in trade alone. In addition her debt for technical aid, arms, and so forth, is \$1.5 billion to Russia; \$430 million to Czechoslovakia; \$250 million to Poland; \$85 million to Hungary; \$70 million to Rumania, and to several countries in the Western Hemisphere another \$165 million.

In 1963 the trade balance of Cuba with Western countries was favorable in the amount of \$65 million. However, this had to be used for other necessities, so Cuba is now almost with no dollar reserve. Last year she had only \$20 million in reserve and this year her financial situation will be much worse.

The U.S.S.R. made two loans to her of \$50 million and \$16 million each at the end of 1964 to cover her letters of credit with Western countries and to buy basic materials necessary to the sugar and nickel industries. At the end of 1964 Cuba had exceeded her budget for imports by \$300 million, and the outlook for 1965 is far worse in spite of a normal sugar harvest.

The biggest job we have ahead of us is to convince our free world allies that by trading with Cuba they are helping

perpetuate the Communist regime of Fidel Castro and holding the people of Cuba in a state of slavery and desperation. Not only that, they are financing and support Communist propaganda and subversive activities originating in Cuba.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Could the gentleman tell me what the State Department thinks of this comment? Are they doing something about this to follow what the gentleman is now suggesting?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I should like to lay these facts before the coordinate branch of the Government, the legislative branch of the Government here, this body.

I should like to lay these facts before this body, as I am doing today on this 12th anniversary, in order to show my colleagues and the American people the full toll of letting the Communists remain in Cuba.

It is my hope we will then be able to explore the reactions from the State Department and the other interested agencies.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Well, the gentleman has certainly provided Members of Congress with an excellent record. My only regret is that there are not more Members on the floor to hear the gentleman. We have less than six Members on the floor, in my judgment. It is very regrettable, because I believe every Member of Congress should have heard this fine special order that the gentleman has taken the time to prepare.

Could the gentleman tell me if it is possible to reveal the sources of the gentleman's information?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Much of this information is obtained from, as I have said before, newspaper reports, reports of reliable newspapers, published both in the United States and in South American countries. Much of this information is available from publicly documented sources that have come to our attention in the Cuban Freedom Committee, and much of this information is made available through the sources and the people who write to us, not only from Cuba but people who hear our broadcasts in other parts of South America and who have to rely in many instances upon these broadcasts sponsored by the Cuban Freedom Committee which, incidentally, is a committee made up exclusively of American citizens, people, many of whom have never been to Cuba, although the executive director had been a teacher in Cuba before the Communists took over, as well as from informed letters which we receive from other countries in South America written by people who hear our broadcasts.

As I stated earlier, our broadcasts may serve in many instances as the only source of straight reliable world news, because this is primarily all we broadcast. We broadcast news from the world and the people of Cuba and the people of other South American countries who

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hear these broadcasts which emanate from Miami, from Florida, and from New Orleans, these people have learned to rely on our broadcasts, because we do not engage in propaganda, and we give them the truth. We give them news over the wire services, the same news that Americans and the people of all the free world are receiving. And these people have learned to respect us for our integrity, and as a result they write in and most of the information that we get is from these very reliable sources.

I wonder, if I may, just touch on this point because it may be of interest to the gentleman from California? The point I was going to make was this—

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. It is of interest to me because I have met the worthy organization which the gentleman is discussing and, furthermore, I have had some personal contacts with people in these various countries of the world through a missionary program with which I worked for a number of years.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And, of course, the missionaries very often are excellent in their analyses.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. It seems to me that the people should know more about what is going on in these areas than the State Department.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I think the gentleman would be interested to know that just a week ago radio Havana in a broadcast to Latin America—the gentleman asked me how we get this information—said:

We wish to inform you that starting July 26 we will increase the number of frequencies through which we broadcast in Spanish to Latin America, North America, and Central America. Besides the normal frequencies you will be able to hear us on 25, 16, and 7 megacycles."

On July 21, Ramiro Puertas, Director of the Cuban Institute of Radio, announced over CMQ Havana, that this year the Institute will install a 150,000-watt station in Havana and another of the same power in San German, Oriente; two other 60,000-watt stations in Camaguey and Oriente Provinces for radio Rebelde network. On July 26, another 10,000-watt station will be inaugurated in Guantanamo; still another 60,000-watt station will be built in Cacoicum, Oriente, for radio Progreso network, which will have an additional 5,000-watt station in Baracoa.

Also, they are installing French TV equipment to improve reception between Camaguey, Guaimaro; and Victoria de las Tunas. It is important to know that this is French equipment—equipment being supplied to Communist Cuba by our supposed ally, France.

To show Cuba's importance to the Communists' dream of world domination, I will read you another news dispatch:

The French Press Agency reported from Cairo on July 16 that the Cuban Ambassador to Egypt, before leaving for home, had announced that a conference of popular movements of three continents will be held in Havana on January 6, 1966. It had been decided at the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Accra in May to extend the movement to Latin America. Representatives of popular movements of six Latin

American countries will participate in the preliminary planning meetings which will begin in Cairo on September 1. The countries are: Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, Uruguay, Chile, and Guatemala. The planning committees also will include delegates of five African countries: Egypt, Algiers, Morocco, Guinea, South Africa, and six Asian countries—the People's Republic of China, the U.S.S.R., India, Indonesia, Japan, and South Vietnam.

There you have it, Mr. Speaker, in the bold broad strokes of Communist takeover under our very noses. Two years ago the United States seemed to be at least in some measure awake to the Cuban danger. Today, I fear we are letting the immediate and close-to-home problem take a secondary position in our planning and our defense. Mr. Speaker, I affirm to this House that in such a course lies hemispheric disaster.

#### FREEWHEELING DISARMAMENT BINGE ENDANGERS NATIONAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] is recognized for 40 minutes.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, disarmament fervor runs high in Washington today. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's—ACDA—budget has ballooned several hundred percent since its inception in 1961. Friends of Disarmament from intellectual and academic circles in large numbers have enlisted voluntarily in the cause. Prof. Jerome Wiesner, the former White House science adviser, recommends developing "a cadre of people whose full-time occupation" is to reorient public attitudes. He wants them "to create a vested interest in arms control"—whatever that may mean.

Unless forces in the United States who recognize the danger of unrestrained disarmament quickly organize and articulate their position, the administration's cadre of dedicated disarmers soon will take the Nation past the point of no return on its flight from the proven strategy of arming to avoid trouble to the yet unproven strategy of disarming to avoid it.

#### DISARMERS WORK QUIETLY AND EFFECTIVELY

The disarmers carry on their work unobtrusively. As yet the public is not conditioned to disarmament. The majority of Americans still believes world peace as well as national survival depends on strength coupled with negotiation rather than negotiation alone. The average person is scared half out of his wits when some enterprising writer digs out and publicizes facts on various ACDA-sponsored disarmament studies. This was the case when things came to light as the study on togetherness with Russia and its study suggesting self-imposed limitations on intelligence gathering efforts.

The work of Washington's disarmers is being made easier by the seemingly calculated elimination of top military spokesmen capable of communicating authoritatively with the American public. Such popular figures as Admiral Arleigh

"31 Knot" Burke and cigar-chomping Gen. Curtis LeMay are on the retired rolls. No successors have been permitted to develop public prominence. Probably not one person in a thousand can even name our present Chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

A tribute to the steady progress of the disarmers came recently in the form of a lack of outcry when a U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., the late Adlai Stevenson, promised a further softening of the American position on test ban treaty safeguards. When negotiations for a comprehensive treaty broke off in 1963, U.S. demands for annual inspections in Soviet territory had been whittled from 20 to 7. Khrushchev still adamantly maintained "three or four" would be ample. Stevenson promised that the Johnson administration now "is willing to explore" further what constitutes "an adequate inspection system."

Public apathy toward the possible consequences of the promise has encouraged and accelerated preparation of many other advanced disarmament positions, some of which President Johnson is expected to offer the Soviets when the 18-nation Disarmament Conference reconvenes in Geneva tomorrow.

These include:

#### U.N. MULTILATERAL NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

This proposal calls for pledges by nuclear have-not nations to refrain from seeking nuclear capabilities in exchange for pledges from the U.N.'s nuclear "haves" to aid them if they fall victim to atomic aggression. Whether the occurrence of "aggression" is to be determined by the U.N.'s frequently paralyzed General Assembly, its veto-ridden Security Council, the nonnuclear victim or the nuclear pledgegiver is uncertain.

#### TOTAL TEST BAN TREATY

This proposal to enlarge the present limited test ban treaty to include a bar against tests underground as well as in other environments would be based on "splitting the difference" between United States and U.S.S.R. inspection demands and fixing the number at five annually. Professor Wiesner and ACDA believe "five inspections per year will provide adequate security against clandestine nuclear testing." However, hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy cast considerable doubt on this optimistic assessment. Additionally, they raised monumental doubts whether even unlimited opportunities for inspection could penetrate the precautions of a determined cheater. This is because the Soviets insist on severe limitations on factors affecting the quality as well as the quantity of inspections. These include tight restrictions on size and composition of inspection teams, allowable inspection techniques, permissible equipment, mode and freedom of travel and communications, length of the inspection period and the like.

#### DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Several years ago the disarmament concept of "we'll burn our bombers and you burn yours" was seriously considered. Its current adaptation is expected to take the form of a proposal that the United States and U.S.S.R. junk

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tion Subcommittee, in which the airlines were severely criticized for neglecting the less profitable service to smaller cities.

Additional economy services on highly traveled routes.

Free stopover privileges. With such privileges, a man flying from New York to Los Angeles might stop in Chicago for a few days at no extra cost. The Board, which abolished these privileges in 1958 when the airlines were having financial problems, said that now that the airlines' finances had improved, they should be revived as a method of stimulating vacation travel in the United States and from abroad.

#### NO REACTION YET

There has been no official reaction from the airline yet, but one industry source privately predicted "a very strong" one.

Addressing itself to air fares, the Board virtually told the airlines to forget about any increases and concentrate on reductions.

After first noting that the rate of return of the 11 domestic trunk carriers had risen to 10.6 percent in the 12 months ended March 31, 1965, the Board said:

"In this setting, the Board believes it is difficult to find justification for fare increases. Rather, the CAB feels, the present favorable earnings position of the airlines offers an excellent opportunity for carriers themselves to consider reductions in fares or improvements in service without fare increases."

The Board rejected two fare increase proposals by American Airlines and United Air Lines, and ordered investigations of the proposals.

Its remarks, which developed into a major policy statement, were attached to an order issued yesterday allowing certain airlines to put liberalized baggage allowances into effect Sunday.

#### FOREIGN FLIGHTS UNAFFECTED

The Board's orders apply only to domestic airlines and have no effect on fares or services on overseas flights, which are negotiated among the world's airlines and then approved by the various governments. Its remarks were aimed primarily at the Nation's 11 trunk carriers and do not apply to local-service airlines.

The new policy apparently grew out of the trunk carriers' relatively recent prosperity.

"Current earnings of the domestic trunk line carriers," the Board said, "are well above the 10.5 percent rate of return considered to be fair and reasonable in the Board's decision of November 25, 1960, in the general passenger fare investigation."

"The 10.5 percent rate of return has been reached in the 12 months ended March 31, 1965, and reports of current earnings show the trend continues strongly upward."

In the year ended December 31, the airlines averaged an even 10 percent return, according to a CAB spokesman. The percentage breakdown was as follows:

American, 9.7; Eastern 2.7; TWA, 11.0; United, 7.4; Braniff, 11.7; Continental, 12.3; Delta, 17.4; National, 15.6; Northeast, negligible or negative; Northwest Orient, 15.9; and Western, 18.2.

Trans World reported yesterday that its revenues and earnings had set a second-quarter record. It said its net earnings for the 3 months ended June rose 30.4 percent to \$15,875,000 from \$12,172,000 earned in the second quarter a year ago.

#### FOUR YEARS WERE LEAN

The airlines, however, were not always so profitable. From 1960 to 1964 the four largest trunks averaged a 3.9-percent return while the others managed 7 percent.

And in the 10-year period after 1955 the four giants—American, Eastern, TWA, and United—averaged 5.3 percent. The seven others averaged 6.5 percent in the same period.

The new prosperity is generally attributed to two major factors—the general business boom, now in its fifth year, and the advent of civilian jet passenger transports.

Jets are faster, more comfortable, more reliable, and generally superior to the old piston-engined aircraft in use before 1958. They are cheaper to run and maintain and can be more effectively utilized.

All these factors have led to higher profits. More and more passengers have been climbing into the big jets. And in the airline business, every passenger after the break-even point is 80-percent profit.

However, a number of Government officials and agencies have been watching those profits.

Earlier this year there was talk of a jet fuel tax. One Senator suggested the airlines take over the subsidies to the struggling helicopter lines, which, indeed, the airlines have, to a certain extent.

#### POST OFFICE ASKS REDUCTION

And the Post Office Department, for whom the airlines have been carrying mail, has asked for a reduction in its payments to the airlines. Under the present rates, established on June 7, 1955, the Post Office pays the major trunks \$58.8 million a year.

The Post Office made its proposal on December 2, 1964, and United Air Lines quickly proposed that the industry offer an 8-percent reduction. This now appears likely to be accepted, according to Selig Altschul, a consultant to the industry.

If the new rate is accepted, the Post Office will pay about \$54 million, or \$5 million less. The reduction would affect the trunks plus the local-service airlines and cargo lines, but it represents a loss of only \$132,000 for each local-service line and \$27,000 for each cargo carrier.

A spokesman for the Air Transport Association said the industry had only recently become very profitable and needed "adequate earnings" for a "protracted period." Protracted period means about 5 years to most airline men.

The spokesman also said the industry had \$2.4 billion worth of new airplanes on order, which will have to be paid for, in addition to the supersonic transports expected in the mid-1970's.

#### WH *W.H. Thurmond* COMMUNIST MENACE IN CUBA

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the current conflict in Vietnam is so serious that all Americans must be on their guard lest they forget the Communist menace in our own backyard—namely, the Communist bastion on the island of Cuba. In the current issue of Reader's Digest, there is a very pertinent reminder of the dangers we face, and indeed all the American nations face, from Communist Cuba. This reminder takes the form of an article by Kenneth O. Gilmore entitled, "Cuba's Brazen Blueprint for Subversion."

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CUBA'S BRAZEN BLUEPRINT FOR SUBVERSION (By Kenneth O. Gilmore)

Here is the inside story of Castro's most audacious attempt to establish communism on the mainland of Latin America.

On the northern coast of Venezuela's Paraguaná Peninsula, there is a lonely stretch of beach in a small inlet known as Macama. Half a mile from this beach, in a two-room stucco hut, lives 24-year-old Lino Gerardo Amaya, a wiry, quiet campesino. On the morning of November 1, 1963, Lino and

his 18-year-old brother, Pedro, set out along the beach in search of a lost goat. They came upon two men in bathing suits, standing on the shore looking out to sea. Beside them was a shiny 16-foot aluminum boat with a handsome outboard motor. The taller of the two calmly waved his hand. "Hello, Frank, how are you? Don't you work for the Creole company?"

"I'm not Frank," replied Lino, "and I never worked for Creole."

Lino didn't find his goat that day. But shortly before 5 p.m. he and his brother headed back to the beach, fishing poles in hand. All that day a thundercloud of suspicion had been building up in his mind. What were those two strangers up to?

At the beach the brothers found the boat and outboard motor. And more. The coarse dark sand was scuffed with footprints—lots of footprints now etched by the lengthening shadows. And something else. A rope mark, its coils clearly imprinted in the sand, led from the water toward a tree.

Lino followed the mark, Pedro behind him. At its end they spotted the corner of a piece of canvas. They pulled it up. Underneath lay a large dark bag. They dragged it out and loosened a thick drawstring. Four automatic rifles. And layers of bulging cartridge belts.

On hands and knees they pawed away more sand and found more sacks of rifles, more cartridge belts. And now that they looked harder, it was apparent that a large section of sand was loose and soft ahead of them.

Lino sprang up. "We've got to tell the police," he said.

#### BURIED TREASURE

Shortly before 10 p.m. Lino arrived at the Jadacaquiva police station. He told his story to the prefect, Antonio Lugo, who immediately relayed the news to Police Commandant Eusebio Olivares Navarrete, at Punto Fijo, the largest town on the peninsula. Olivares roared off for the lonely beach with five jeepsloads of policemen.

Soon the police were digging into the sand like pirates seeking lost treasure, grunting, heaving, hauling. In 15 minutes, Olivares had seen enough. He switched on the radio in his patrol car, gave the stunning news to the State Governor, Pablo Saher.

It took 4 hours to hoist the entire deposit from its temporary grave. The hole in the ground was 8 feet deep, 6 feet wide and 90 feet long. The cache—automatic rifles, machineguns, antitank guns, mortars, bazookas, demolition charges and thousands of rounds of ammunition—weighed 3 tons.

In Caracas, the Venezuelan capital, President Rómulo Betancourt was awakened at home and briefed by phone. He ordered a naval patrol of the peninsula and sent a special alert to every security and military agency in the country. For 2 years Fidel Castro had boasted that he would export his Cuban revolution to the mainland of South America. Oil-rich Venezuela was his prime target. "With victory in Venezuela," cried Cuba's old-line Communist boss Blas Roca, "we shall no longer be a solitary island in the Caribbean confronting the Yankee imperialists." Castro-trained guerrillas of Venezuela's Communist Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) had terrorized the countryside in an attempt to paralyze the nation. They had dynamited oil pipelines and bridges, burned stores and warehouses, robbed banks, raided police stations, kidnapped and murdered officials and blasted the streets with sniper and machinegun fire. More than 50 policemen had been cut down in the streets of Caracas alone, and twice as many civilians.

But never before had the FALN been equipped with mortars and bazookas. Obviously something special was afoot.

#### A NEW LEAD

At the heavily protected Caracas headquarters of Venezuela's state security police



July 29, 1965

Herald, of your proposed investigation concerning the Eastern Air Line shuttle service. As a citizen of Massachusetts, and, frequent traveler between the three cities serviced by Eastern's shuttle, I highly endorse your action.

Since I left the staff of WBZ in 1961, I have averaged a trip a week between Boston-New York-Washington on behalf of my business. After becoming a commuter, I soon switched to regular usage of Northeast.

Eastern is using some of the oldest equipment currently in service on U.S. carriers. The attitude of the employees, and, the treatment of customers leaves much to be desired. Among regular travelers, Eastern is considered to be one of the country's worst airlines. This fact was included as part of a recent Time article. While other aspects of Eastern's system has improved, nothing has been done about the shuttle. There is a rumor that jetprop craft will be used on the Boston-New York run, similar to what has just been introduced on the Boston-Washington run. Perhaps we shall see the fifth fare increase.

It is a shame that with all of Northeast's problems, the public is not aware that their Boston-New York service has more modern equipment, better service, and \$2 cheaper.

For a while I lived in Los Angeles. The service between San Francisco and Los Angeles is excellent. The equipment is superb, and, the trip takes less time, even though it is a greater distance. Moreover, the fares are about the same.

I hope your efforts are well rewarded. I commend you for taking up this task on behalf of the frequent air passenger. If there is any way I can be of service to you in regard to the investigation, I shall be pleased to assist.

Thank you for your interest in this matter. Sincerely,

THOMAS F. CARROLL,  
Vice President.

PASSAIC, N.J.  
July 19, 1965.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am glad to hear someone is on the ball about Eastern Air Lines shuttle to Boston.

I used to go to Boston about two times a month to visit my son who lives in Rockland, the fare used to be \$10 one-way about a year ago. Then it went to \$11, \$12, \$13; then \$14. I don't know what it is now because I can't afford it any more.

Thank you, thank you.  
Yours,

PAUL FORKUS.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
July 19, 1965.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have read with interest of your planned inquiry into Eastern Airlines shuttle operations and hope that you will follow through on this.

I am at a loss to understand why it costs \$16 to fly between Boston and New York when one can fly between Los Angeles and San Francisco, nearly twice the distance, on new jet planes for \$13.50. Probably you have noted "Western's jets fly over profit ceiling" in Business Week, March 6, 1965, page 54.

Yours for better rates for the east coast.  
Very truly yours,

A. H. GOWER.

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,  
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,  
Washington, D.C., July 20, 1965.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: Congratulations on your speech of July 19 as reported in today's Washington Post concerning Eastern Airlines shuttle service.

I recently moved back to the East Coast after 2 years in Los Angeles and it always amazed me why shuttle service between Los Angeles and San Francisco (450 miles) costs about \$12 while the same service between New York and Washington (225 miles) costs \$18. In addition the west coast service was on Lockheed Electra and Boeing 707 while the east coast service was on old Lockheed Constellations.

I support you in urging a CAB investigation of the monopolistic and price-fixing practices of Eastern Airlines since simple arithmetic suggests that the cost between New York and Washington should be about \$6 even if you don't take into consideration the old equipment being used by Eastern Airlines.

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP KLUBES.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: I read with great interest in this morning's Post of your questions about the practices of Eastern Airlines on the Washington-New York (and other Eastern) runs. I have lived in Washington the past 10 years, use the air services to New York (and occasionally to Boston) fairly frequently, and share your view that there is no question but that Eastern has systematically squeezed out its competitors, and having done so has inflated its fares on the spartan shuttle-service. I am also familiar with the San Francisco-Los Angeles fare structure where for a smaller fare the rider gets almost twice as long a ride and far better service on a variety of carriers. Good luck with your inquiry.

Gratefully,

REV. E. R. CARROLL.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

Please accept my heartiest congratulations for your efforts in calling for CAB and congressional investigation of Eastern Airlines monopoly of shuttle service. It's high time all of Eastern Airlines operations get a good look-at.

EVELYN FREYMAN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
July 21, 1965.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: Congratulations on your suggestion that an investigation is needed in connection with the air service between Boston and Washington. I've stopped flying this route. It's just too expensive. I drive instead.

But don't stop with Boston-New York service. The New York-Washington routes likewise have become too expensive. We don't need frills or jets on these short routes. Low fares and frequency of service will bring in the customers. You rightly compared these services with the very excellent Los Angeles-San Francisco service which is also a real travel bargain. Perhaps those western airlines should be invited to come east and set up shop here.

Frankly, I think our airlines in the Boston-New York-Washington area are dangerously overcrowded. More attention should be given toward improving the rail service on these short-haul runs so that there will be enough air space for the longer domestic air routes.

Why, for example, do we have to wait for more rail studies and surveys? With the existing rail equipment and road beds we could speed up the service from New York to either Boston or Washington by simply eliminating all the stops between New York and Boston and Washington. The planes fly nonstop. Why can't we have one non-stop train leaving New York in the morning and one in the evening bound for Boston and Washington. The Merchants Limited presently makes five stops between Grand

Central and South Station. Allowing 10 minutes loss for each stop, I would guess that the schedule could be speeded up by 50 minutes if these five stops were eliminated. The train speed would not have to be increased. It could be advertised as "Downtown to Downtown" express service.

I realize that solutions to our transportation problems are not an easy thing and that there are many problems involved about which the average person such as myself are not aware. However, I am heartened that you are at least trying to get something done about the poor transportation in this area.

Sincerely,

LEO M. SCHARIO, Jr.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star,  
July 26, 1965]

#### AIR FARE MYSTERY

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY's demand for an investigation of the Washington-New York-Boston air shuttle service has let in some much-needed light on a mystifying subject.

When Eastern Air Lines began this highly popular service in 1961, the rate was \$14 for a trip between here and New York. A seat was guaranteed to each passenger, with no reservation needed, even if a second plane had to be ordered. Such a cheap commuter run carried an understandable appeal. The effect was to lure business away from competitors and give Eastern an 80 percent monopoly, according to Senator KENNEDY.

But since then Eastern has successively raised the fare to the point where, at \$18, it exceeds the price for some conventional flights. An airline spokesman cites costs of standby planes and crews among the reasons for this.

Without condemning Eastern out of hand, it remains a curious fact that airlines are now flying passengers between Los Angeles and San Francisco—a 340-mile trip—for \$13.50 plus tax, using jets. Is the shorter Washington-New York piston-plane run so much more costly to operate?

Two rival airlines, United and TWA, have applications now pending before the Civil Aeronautics Board to begin unrestricted Washington-New York-Boston flights. A United spokesman adds that jets would be used, and that a fare not exceeding the Los Angeles-San Francisco rate is contemplated for Washington to New York.

The decision on jets must await results of a study by the Federal Aviation Agency of National Airport, due by December. But it seems obvious that a little more competition on this lucrative, heavily traveled route would benefit the public.

[From the New York Times, July 29, 1965]

U.S. AIRLINES TOLD TO PUT PROSPERITY INTO LOWER FARES—CAB ALSO TELLS CARRIERS TO ADD COACH SEATS AND ALLOW FREE STOP-OVERS

(By Frederic C. Appel)

The Civil Aeronautics Board told the Nation's airlines yesterday that they were making too much money and should start passing some of it on to the consumer in the form of lower fares and better service.

The Board said it thought the following improvements could be made:

Lower fares on short trips. The Board noted that the new short-range jets now coming into use had lower operating costs that could make possible lower fares over routes such as that between New York and Washington.

More coach seats. The Board suggested a higher ratio of coach seats to first-class seats to reflect the public's desire. Last year 76 percent of domestic air passengers flew coach, according to the Air Transportation Association. The Board also called for more coach service into more communities.

More service to smaller cities. This suggestion was apparently a reaction to a hearing, ended 2 weeks ago, by the Senate Avia-



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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(Digepol), Chief of investigation Orlando García Vázquez studied a surveillance report that had just come to his desk. It was late Monday afternoon November 3, exactly 48 hours after Lino had looked under the canvases. The report disclosed that at 10:30 a.m. that day a young woman known to have Communist connections was seen near the home of Eduardo Machado, a Venezuelan Communist Party boss. She was followed to a cafe on Negrin Street, where she sat chatting with three men. Fifty minutes later all four drove to a complex of four housing units known as "Urbanización Simón Rodríguez."

The woman strolled to building No. 1 and took the outside elevator to a fourth-floor apartment, No. 49. Her companions loitered in the area, making sure she was not being followed. Two hours later she came back to the car and sped to the old section of the city, where she was observed talking with several leaders of Central University's Communist-controlled student federation, some of whom had recently returned from Cuba.

Inspector García was sure apartment No. 49 was "hot." Too many precautions had been taken. "I think we had better hit this place as soon as possible," he told his boss.

Shortly after midnight five Digepol agents in two groups sauntered toward building No. 1, chatting and laughing as if returning from a party. García and two agents took the elevator to the fourth floor, while the others climbed the stairs, the only other exit.

García knocked gently at apartment 49. There was a shuffling of slippers. The door opened a crack, revealing a middle-aged woman in a nightgown.

"We've come with a search warrant," said García shouldering his way in. "Is anyone else here?"

"No," she replied.

In a bedroom they found a young man in bed. "Stay very still," warned García. "Who are you?"

"Germán López Méndez," the man replied, and handed over his identification card. No. 618945—Germán López Méndez—born November 27, 1941—5 feet, 6 inches—hair, brown—eyes, brown. On the left-hand corner was pasted a small mug shot: a slim face, placid eyes, thin mustache, wavy hair. It matched the man.

"What's your occupation?" García asked. "I'm a teacher. Just visiting here for a couple of days."

"Okay, don't move while we search," García said.

## BIBLE ON TERROR

The men began to hunt, opening closets, pulling out drawers, looking under beds and in toilet tanks. Under one corner of the suspect's bed two objects were extracted: the first, a small light-blue airline traveling bag full of drawing equipment and materials—ink pens, tracing paper, rulers, compasses, crayons.

"What are you doing with these?" García asked López.

"I've never seen them before," López answered, as if bored.

At first, García thought the second item was a Bible. Book-size, it was enclosed in a dark brown leather case with a zipper on three sides, the kind of covering often used for a Bible. Inside was a looseleaf notebook. García flipped through some 70 pages. He found that he was holding an instructor's manual on the handling of arms and explosives—an FALN "Bible."

García glanced at the man on the bed. "This belong to you?"

"No."

About 5 a.m. García returned to headquarters with his two suspects. "Keep searching," he told two agents left behind. "Mattresses, pillows, everything. When you're finished, start all over again. There's bound to be more than we've found."

Digepol's files indicated that the woman, who claimed to be a nurse, was a contact for a fugitive FALN leader. The man who called himself López was fingerprinted, and a search through the files disclosed his real identity: Luis Eduardo Sánchez Madero, age 24. On the margins of the FALN sabotage manual were notes jotted down in his handwriting, among them a precise schedule of his last day of instruction on October 21: 6 a.m.—rise; 8 to 12—courses in artillery and mortar; 2 to 6 p.m.—training in recoilless rifle, bazooka and machinegun and cryptography; 8 to 10—study; 11—bedtime.

## PUZZLE BECOMES PICTURE

Meanwhile, at apartment 49, an agent had found, taped to the bottom of a desk drawer, a 2-inch-thick stack of papers. Included in the material were lengthy descriptions of arms and explosives plus an intricate checklist for pulling off a successful sabotage or kidnapping operation: escape routes, floor plans, guards, alarm systems, cover stories, hiding places. There was also a large map of Caracas showing every street and major building in the city, and four pieces of transparent paper—overlays for the map—dotted by rectangles, circles, arrows, asterisks, crosses, parallel bars and triangles.

What did it all mean? García and his men studied these and other items, zeroing in on several papers crisscrossed with neatly ruled lines. At the top of each perpendicular column were large letters: "F," the symbol for fusil, Spanish for rifle; "PERS" for persons; "M" for mortar; "Csr" for cañone sin retroceso—recoilless rifle; and "B" for bazooka. The same type of arms found at Macama.

More notes were studied, such as a list of apartment buildings, offices and streets with specific designations of weapons. These numbers were compared. The map was pulled out, and the overlays with their symbols were arranged and rearranged. At last the puzzle became a picture. The rectangular figure meant "artillery," the triangle "fixed group," the open circle "troop positions," the slanted parallel lines "barricade," the cross "emergency station," the five-sided figure surrounded by arrows "object of attack." Sánchez Madero had drawn up a detailed plan for attack upon Caracas using the weapons delivered at Macama.

The Urdaneta barracks was the prime objective. A walled fort perched on the city's highest ground, it held a concentration of troops. Here also were tanks, near a jail holding top FALN terrorists. The scheme: isolate the troops and free the prisoners to join in the attack. This 1 phase of the operation called for 3 artillery units, 6 fixed groups of 3 to 4 men, 3 mobile groups plus positioning of 12 FALN troop units in carefully chosen locations. Assigned to do the job were 374 men, 195 rifles, 8 mortars, 12 bazookas, 4 recoilless rifles, 75 machineguns.

Apartment houses near the barracks were selected, from which snipers and machine gunners could pick off soldiers trying to reach jeeps and armored cars. Mortars would knock out key exits, sabotage units would cut telephone lines, seize power stations and blow up vital streets; bazookas and recoilless rifles would be waiting for tanks—if they made it through the carnage.

## FANTASTIC?

At Miraflores Palace the attack plan was laid before President Betancourt. "To those of us who have witnessed FALN's murder and arson for 3 years, it doesn't seem so shocking," he confided to a colleague. "But this is going to look fantastic to the outside world."

Indeed, the question was: Would the "outside world" believe it? Could they prove conclusively where the plan had originated, where the arms had come from?

The first point hinged on Sánchez Madero.

An exhaustive check of all airline listings was undertaken. It was a long shot but it paid off. Sánchez Madero had fled from Venezuela to Jamaica on March 5, 1962, listed as "Luis E. Sánchez M., after an armored-car robbery in which his fingerprints were found. In Jamaica he had boarded a KLM special flight, No. 977 from Kingston to Havana, Cuba. He had cockily given the airline his destination address: House of Americas (headquarters in Havana for the infamous Institute of People's Friendship, the processing agency for Cuba's Latin American terrorist trainees).

Tracing of the arms was turned over to the Venezuelan Army. An elaborate effort had been made to disguise the weapons. All serial numbers had been ground off. Near the trigger of each rifle, a hole had been cut, obviously to remove the insignia. But whose insignia?

Several of the weapons were rushed to Fabrique Nationale d'Armes de Guerre at Herstal-lez-Liège, Belgium, whose trademark had been left on. Fabrique Nationale, the largest private arms manufacturer in the Western World, had filed an order by the Cuban Army for 22,500 automatic rifles on March 23, 1959. Now company experts examined the rifles dug up at Macama and reported that "the coat of arms of Cuba was stamped in the place where a cut has been made." Moreover, the Cuban weapons had their serial numbers uniquely located on the left side of the trigger guard, as these had been before they were ground off. Rifles with these characteristics had never been delivered to any country but Cuba.

As for the 31 "UZI" 9-mm. machineguns, the Belgian company also confirmed that they had been bought by Cuba. But the Venezuelans went a step further. Where a seal had obviously been ground away, an etching solution was applied. Slowly the chemical made decipherable the outlines of a legend. Under a magnifying glass an ornate crest could be distinguished—the crest of the Cuban Army.

The case was airtight. It was time to bring charges.

## IRREFUTABLE PROOF

The wood-paneled main council room of the Pan American Union Building, 4 blocks from the White House in Washington, D.C., was packed on December 3, 1963. Venezuela had called the Organization of American States into emergency session to charge Cuba with aggression. Ambassador Enrique Tejera-Paris of Venezuela was speaking: "The people of Venezuela have been the constant victims of the insults and attacks of Cuba's Castro regime. Now in the face of the new act of aggression by Cuba, for which there is definite and irrefutable proof, Venezuela is forced to take this action."

An investigating commission was immediately set up, composed of representatives of Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Uruguay and the United States. On December 8, the commission flew to Caracas, along with a team of military advisers. There they heard detailed accounts from a score of witnesses ranging from Minister of National Defense Gen. Antonio Briceño to Juan DeDios Marin, a young Venezuelan who had been in Cuba for several months receiving military training in the handling of arms and guerrilla tactics.<sup>1</sup>

Venezuelan Army officials picked out weapons at random, and before the eyes of the investigators demonstrated how the Cuban insignia could be raised chemically. Ward P. Allen, chief U.S. representative, was especially curious about the aluminum skiff and outboard motor that had been left behind on the beach that first morning by the two strangers. Odd, he thought—a Johnson

<sup>1</sup> See "Inside a Castro 'Terror School,'" the Reader's Digest, December 1964.

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motor with the manufacturer's marking: The Outboard Marine Corporation of Canada, Ltd., serial number C367809. The Canadian Ambassador in Caracas was asked to have the motor investigated. A report came back through Canadian Government channels: four Johnson outboard motors, including C367809, had been purchased by an exporting company in Montreal and flown to Cuba on October 1, 1963, consigned to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, Poultry Division.

## A DAMNING VERDICT

On February 24, 1964, the OAS Commission presented its verdict: "The shipment was made up of arms originating in Cuba that were surreptitiously landed at a solitary spot on the coast for the purpose of being used in subversive operations to overthrow the constitutional Government of Venezuela. The objective of the Caracas plan was to capture the city of Caracas, to prevent the holding of elections on December 1, 1963, and to seize control of the country."

This plan, plus Cuba's propaganda methods, provision of funds, training in sabotage and guerrilla operations, concluded the investigators, added up to "a policy of aggression." A 112-page report was submitted with a mountain of facts and proof, much of which is the basis for the preceding account.

Colombia's OAS representative found it hard to contain his fury. "This is not an incident of unwary sailors," he declared. "It is a serious international incident which is part of a carefully thought-out plan of Cuba for carrying the Communist revolution to the hemisphere."

La Tribuna, a major newspaper in Lima, Peru, commented: "What is important is the next step: that is, what kind of action will be taken against a Government convicted of armed intervention?"

Incredibly, the answer to that question was in grave doubt. Several Latin countries balked at imposing firm measures against Cuba, clinging to the ancient concept of nonintervention which had originated years before Soviet communism moved into the hemisphere. Principal backsliders were Mexico, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile, and Brazil, all of whom at the time maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba.

## SANCTIONS—OR NOT?

Venezuela would not be put off, and pressed for a foreign ministers' conference of the 20 American Republics to punish Castro. It called for mandatory steps such as cutting off all trade, air travel and diplomatic relations with Cuba. "If the OAS does not apply sanctions to Castro's Cuba, it means the bankruptcy of democracy and the inter-American system," warned Venezuela's Foreign Minister Marcos Falcón Briceño.

Then in April 1964 a revolution in Brazil led by Gen. Humberto Castelo Branco, a firm anti-Castroite, ousted left-leaning President João Goulart.<sup>2</sup> Soon after, Brazil expelled Cuba's diplomatic delegation. Now those seeking stern measures against Castro felt that the continent's largest nation could be counted on when the chips were down.

Still, weeks, then months, dragged by while diplomats dickered over sanctions that would assure the necessary two-thirds vote. Finally, on July 21, more than 8 months after Lima stumbled on the arms at Macama, the hemisphere's foreign ministers gathered in Washington for the crucial voting.

The hemisphere states should not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with Cuba; 14 yes, 4 no, 1 abstain. They should suspend their trade, either direct or indirect, with Cuba, except for humanitarian reasons: same vote. They should suspend all sea transportation again with the humanitarian exception: 14 yes, 3 no, 2 abstain. Any new attempts to subvert an American

Republic could bring quick armed retaliation without consultation: 15 yes, 4 no.

By the time the final resolution had passed, it was 12:15 a.m., July 26, the day Castro actually celebrates the birth of his revolutionary July 26 movement. At long last the American Republics had branded an outlaw in their midst. Within 6 months Chile, Bolivia, and Uruguay broke relations with Cuba. More significant was that key resolution giving the green light to OAS nations, alone or collectively, to strike back without delay should Castro be caught in further subversion.

## THE THREAT REMAINS

Whether this provision will be used for direct retaliation against the Cuban sanctuary is quite another matter. Just last November representatives of Latin American Communist Parties slipped into Havana to map out a bold new strategy with the Soviets to accelerate Red revolutions. A secret declaration (released in Moscow 2 months later) was signed promising "active aid" to "freedom fighters" in Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Panama, Haiti, and Venezuela.

Operations center for this guerrilla warfare is Cuba's subversion and espionage agency, the DGI (whose biggest unit promotes Latin revolutions), advised by at least five Soviet intelligence specialists. Squads of Latin Americans are trained by the DGI's Department of Special Schools. This department and other Cuban organizations have turned out at least 5,000 graduates. "This training today represent the most serious threat to democracy in Latin America," says Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Jack H. Vaughn. "We know of cases where the individuals of a given country trained in Cuba return by the hundreds. These people form a cadre of guerrilla units, and the larger the number, the greater the threat ultimately that they will make a move."

## AN APPALLING SCOREBOARD

The scoreboard of riots, bombings, assassinations, violence and espionage emanating from Cuba is appalling. In Guatemala a band of terrorists with a hard-core strength of about 300 men roams the mountains with headquarters in the Lake Izabal region. Five of them recently burned the U.S.-aid program garage in Guatemala City, gutting 23 vehicles. Last February during a festive parade in the capital, ten Guatemalan soldiers were killed by a grenade lobbed into the back of their truck. Chief of these guerrillas is stocky, tough Marco Antonio Yon Sousa who has secretly received \$200,000 from the DGI.

A contingent of Panamanian communists recently went back to Cuba for a second round of guerrilla instruction, while even more are preparing to journey to Havana. Next door in Colombia, banditry and kidnappings, once confined to remote rural regions, are closing in on the cities. Former Cabinet Minister Harold Eder was grabbed by kidnappers and a \$250,000 price put on his head even though he had been murdered before the ransom demand. A newly organized Cuban-backed Army of National Liberation (ELN) directs much of this violence. In Moscow, Pravda propagandizes that events in Colombia are "very little different from the dirty war being fought in Vietnam."

Finally, look at the grim tragedy in the Dominican Republic. In classic style a band of skilled communists swiftly exploited an explosive chaotic revolution. At least 77 known communists were pinpointed and, as President Johnson has disclosed, "two of the prime leaders in the rebel forces were men with a long history of communist association and insurrections." He noted that many of the "conspirators" were "trained in Cuba" and, "seeing a chance to increase disorder, to gain a foothold, joined the revolution."

## WHERE NEXT

Where will the graduates of the Soviet-Cuban Communist combine strike next? Where within our hemisphere will U.S. soldiers have to be sent next to avert a Communist coup while Havana and Moscow have a propaganda field day? And will we and our friends be able to discover and act against the next blueprint for subversion before it is too late?

No one can say—so long as an operations center for "wars of liberation" functions with impunity in Cuba. Time and time again our officials have said this subversion "must stop," yet it continues. Our words and warnings are scorned, and we go on merely reacting to one Cuban-fomented foray after another.

One long-overdue solution is for the OAS to modernize its rules and machinery so that it can act swiftly against Communist "interventions." Otherwise, Latin countries must accept United States fast action when lives and liberties of nations are in the balance, as in the Dominican Republic.

Another solution lies in tightening the economic noose around Cuba. Considering the mess communism has made of the Cuban economy, experts say it would collapse within weeks if most outside assistance was cut off. Why, for example, should we permit a procession of Soviet oil tankers to steam into the Caribbean to fuel Cuba's industries and utilities so that this springboard for subversion can survive? And why should we allow non-Communist nations to furnish vital items—867 shiploads since 1963?

When Secretary of State Dean Rusk called for sanctions against Cuba last summer, he pointed out that "subversion supported by terror, sabotage, and guerrilla action is as dangerous a form of aggression as an armed attack." And he added these significant words: "Today it is Venezuela which is under attack. Is there any one of us who can say with assurance, 'It cannot be my country tomorrow'?"

## THE ORDEAL OF OTTO OTEPKA

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in the current issue of Readers' Digest, there appears an article entitled "The Ordeal of Otto Otepka." This article relates in summary form the outrageous case of the treatment of a dedicated security officer in the State Department whose honesty, loyalty, and perseverance in his job were rewarded with abuse in the form of police-state tactics and ultimately, in an order of discharge. The appeal from the order of discharge is still pending. The injustices recited by this article, which are substantiated in great detail by the series of hearings currently being released by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, constitute a blight on our Government and the bureaucratic, cliquish factionalism into which we have permitted it to degenerate. Both the Congress and the American people have an obligation to Mr. Otepka to see that this injustice is righted, but they have an even greater obligation to themselves and their posterity to eradicate the defects in the system which permit our Government to be so perverted.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

<sup>2</sup> See "The County That Saved Itself," the Reader's Digest, November 1964.

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said more dams are needed to help in the low flow periods on the river.

Warner pointed out that conditions change with the times. He said if the Tuscaloosa plant were to be built today it would be constructed below the city, not at its present location. He also said the Warrior Lock and Dam should have been located farther down stream below the industrial plants.

Yoder pointed out that the new system at the Demopolis plant was constructed in spite of the fact that no immediate expansion is planned and that the mill was under no pressure to improve its waste disposal system.

The system involved an investment of over a million dollars. Operating it and monitoring the river require an annual expense of \$48,000.

Dr. Myers said it was gratifying to see such a major step taken on pollution.

The mill, located about 8 miles south of Demopolis, is surrounded by elaborate ponding and clarifying facilities each dedicated to the treatment of a specific type of waste water from the various stages of manufacture. Into one lagoon goes water that contains no harmful materials but which needs to be cooled before returning to the river.

In a second facility, a huge clarifier, 266 feet in diameter, removes solids such as wood fibers that would otherwise flow into the river.

The third operation involves a 56-acre lagoon which impounds waste water containing non-fibrous material from the wood that could be harmful to the stream. This effluent can be retained for periods up to two weeks, during which time its harmful properties are dissipated. It is then metered back into the river at a rate determined by the flow of the stream.

Even before water needed by the mill is sent to the waste treatment plants, it has been used over and over throughout the mill. The mill uses 16 million gallons of water daily, but if it were not for this recycling at various stages of production, the demand would be 25 million gallons a day.

Although no mill expansion is planned at Demopolis, the new waste treatment system is designed to take care of a greater future load.

To the east of the mill a small lake allows the cooling of water that has become heated in condensing steam produced in the chemical recovery section of the mill. This lagoon also serves as a safety check to guard against any mishaps that might endanger the condition of the river. Should such upset conditions occur, a sensing system automatically sounds an alarm and shuts off the discharge valve at the lagoon.

Four million gallons of water can be processed daily here. Now covering nine acres with a 20-million-gallon capacity, the pond can readily be enlarged to 25 acres with a 105-million-gallon capacity.

On the opposite side of the mill is the clarifier which handles 10 million gallons of water a day. Water fed into this system contains solid materials such as fibers, lime, and clays that have slipped through in the washing, bleaching, and forming processes. Such materials, if allowed to flow into the river, would use up vital dissolved oxygen and create sludge beds.

The clarifier is a huge, dish-shaped installation, 266 feet in diameter and 15 feet deep at the center. Mill water is pumped to the center surface, from which point it flows outward to the rim, spilling over the edges. In the meanwhile, 99 percent of the solids have settled to the bottom, where long scraper arms concentrate the sludge in the deepest part. Heavy-duty pumps then remove the sludge.

These concentrated solids are pumped to a nearby filter house where more water is removed, leaving a wet cake of solid material to be dumped in a nearby impoundment. At present there is no practical use for these

solids, but experiments are being conducted to see if they can be transformed into a useful byproduct.

Behind the clarifier stretches the 59-acre surface of the strong waste lagoon. Here is collected effluent that has a stronger concentration of oxygen-absorbing materials. The wastes are held for a period up to 2 weeks, during which time aeration and bacterial action reduce the oxygen demand.

At the end of the treatment period the water is released to the river at a carefully controlled rate. The strong waste system is designed to be modified as technical advances are made in the field of effluent control.

In addition to the three-way treatment system and the constant checking and double-checking that goes on at the plant, Gulf States technicians keep a close watch on the river itself. Daily checks are made on the river's flow and of the dissolved oxygen content of the water.

In periods of low water this monitoring process becomes almost constant and the lab boat travels 50 miles downstream from the plant and 5 miles upstream. Samples of water are taken at 16 different points and 5 tests are made on each sample.

The Demopolis mill was built in 1957 and produces up to 400 tons of gleaming white board daily, chiefly for the folding carton industry.

## Repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, one of hundreds of letters I have received on the subject of repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act came from the Western States Meat Packers president, Mr. L. Blaine Liljenquist. I ask leave to have this letter, which outlines, the feelings of this important association, placed in the Appendix for the edification of my colleagues.

### WESTERN STATES MEAT PACKERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

Washington, D.C., July 26, 1965.

Hon. LAURENCE J. BURTON,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. BURTON: Please vote against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This is the recommendation of the Western States Meat Packers Association.

It is an American tradition not to force citizens to join any organization—lodge, club, church, association, or labor union.

Freedom to choose for oneself is a principle which has been instrumental in making the United States the richest Nation on earth. Let's not give up this great freedom.

Responsible labor unions win their membership by constructive leadership. It is not essential to the success of labor unions to have mandatory membership.

Labor unions have continued to grow powerful under the Taft-Hartley Act. As you know, labor organizations are not subject to antitrust laws. Repeal of section 14(b) would give them an added monopoly to the detriment of the public welfare.

Your vote against repeal of section 14(b) will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

L. BLAINE LILJENQUIST,  
President and General Manager.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 24, 1965:

### CUBA'S ROAD TO RUIN—CASTRO PROMISES BRING ENSLAVEMENT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Very Reverend John J. Kelly, of St. Augustine's high school, San Diego, lived in Cuba from 1943 to 1959. For 9 years, until he was forced out by Prime Minister Fidel Castro in April 1959, Father Kelly was president of the Catholic university there.)

(By the Very Reverend John J. Kelly)

Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro celebrates his 12th anniversary of his revolt on Monday.

On July 26, 1953, about 100 idealistic young Cubans attacked a military barracks in Moncada, Santiago de Cuba, in an unsuccessful and apparently scatterbrained attempt to open armed hostility against the government of Fulgencio Batista. A small hard-core group escaped, including Fidel and his brother, Paul. They surrendered and their lives were saved through the intercession of the archbishop of Santiago, the Most Reverend Enrique Perez Serantes.

The Batista government pardoned and exiled these conspirators in 1955, only to have the pardoned exiles return 18 months later from Mexico for a new armed invasion, December 2, 1956. The group of about 90 was detected and almost annihilated by the Cuban armed forces, but again, Fidel, Paul and the hard-core group escaped into the hills of the Sierra Maestra in eastern Cuba.

There they managed to hold out for 2 years, while the Cuban people became increasingly dissatisfied with the Batista administration.

Although Cuba was never so prosperous economically as in 1957-58, Cubans looked for someone to lead them in a political revolution to overthrow Batista. In spite of his known criminal record, Fidel Castro became accepted as the ideal leader for that revolution, and he sat defiantly on his mountain top, very inaccessible to the armed forces of Cuba, but readily accessible to that sector of the world press which wittingly or unwittingly favors leftist causes.

The vast majority of Cuban people supported Castro then because he promised free elections, honesty in government and a return to the constitution of 1940. These promises were deliberate, calculated lies, such as his shortwave clandestine broadcast:

### EVIDENCE LACKING

"We are not a Communist group. The government accuses us of that to get your support; we are Cubans who hate Batista more than you do and want to get him out and restore free elections, honesty and the constitution to our nation."

Much of the propaganda of the Castro military victories was of like nature. There is no evidence that Castro won any decisive, large-scale military victory; there is much evidence to the contrary that the Cuban armed forces, by and large, were demoralized, corrupt and unwilling to fight.

The victory over Batista was not Castro's so much as it was that of the Cuban people. Professionals, students, middle class and upper class were conned into helping Castro. He had no proletariat, no union help. The

July 27, 1965

U.S. State Department formulated policy which favored Castro over Batista.

## RESULT OF REVOLT

What has been the result of this "revolt" and the one-sided policy of the State Department? In some 6 years Castro has parlayed his easy victory into a full-fledged Soviet satellite, 90 miles from the U.S. mainland.

For Cubans this Soviet aggression on the Americas has brought the same enslavement of the people, the same destruction of a sound economy, the same misery, hunger and death that it has visited upon the peoples of Eastern Europe and China.

It also has brought to Cuba Soviet troops and war materials that openly threaten the security of the Americas, as well as a tactical training center of subversion aimed at undermining all Latin America.

Many observers think that the road the United States chooses with Cuba will determine the fate of Latin America, and ultimately the fate of the United States.

**Hon. Cleveland M. Bailey**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. ROBERT T. SECREST**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 27, 1965*

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, on July 13, my friend, and our former colleague, the Honorable Cleveland Monroe Bailey, passed away. He was born in St. Marys, W. Va., and was a graduate of Geneva College, Geneva, Pa., an Associated Press editor of the Clarksburg Exponent, an assistant State auditor, a State budget director, a schoolteacher, and finally a Member of Congress for 16 years.

From the day he came to Congress, the membership sensed, both Democratic and Republican, that here was a man born to lead and not follow. He espoused clearly and without fear the principles and beliefs on which his political philosophy was based. As he so often said, my first two names should indicate the party of my choice. Cleveland Bailey was a kindly man under that outward rough exterior, and his word was his bond. I can remember as if it were yesterday, when we talked of our respective States, that he told me, "Remember Bob, what is good for one part of your State is good for all the State, regardless of whether or not it is your own district." Many a freshman Member of Congress will recall his words of wisdom and guidance in their legislative actions. The statute books bear evidence of his record in the Congress, and every child in America can thank him for his foresight in the field of education and every working man can thank him for his friendship to labor.

In the spring of 1965, Midwest City, Okla., paid him tribute when he went there to dedicate the Cleveland M. Bailey School. I can mentally picture him and imagine the personal pride he took in being told that a school was being named in his honor and that he was to make the dedication.

Every State in this great Union of ours sends a distinguished son to the Congress. West Virginia can take great pride in knowing that it has contributed one of

her sons to the Congress of the United States, in the person of the late Honorable Cleveland Monroe Bailey. Both Mrs. Secrest and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Maud, and his sons, Joslyn and Donald, and his daughter, Wanda, and his many grandchildren.

**Patman Jabs at Martin Carry Little Weight**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 27, 1965*

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, July 7th, Mr. Thomas J. Foley of the Los Angeles Times wrote an article which was published in the Washington Post setting forth his views on the disagreement by Congressman PATMAN with Chairman William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

The article follows:

PATMAN JABS AT MARTIN CARRY LITTLE WEIGHT

(By Thomas J. Foley)

When William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, was asked to comment the other day on Representative WRIGHT PATMAN's demand that he resign, a smile broke across his face.

Despite differences, Martin said in all good humor, "I'm always able to maintain friendly relations with Mr. PATMAN and I hope to continue to do so."

"I'm always pleased," Martin said, "when Mr. PATMAN shows interest in the Federal Reserve."

## ALWAYS SHOWING INTEREST

Martin, of course, was being a gentleman. But to those acquainted with him and his relations with Mr. PATMAN, the comment had a barb, because PATMAN, the 71-year-old Texas Democrat, who heads the House Banking and Currency Committee is always showing interest in the Federal Reserve.

Martin's tone, and his smile, moreover, were something more than condescending. And well they might have been.

For Martin knew, and his immediate listeners knew, that despite PATMAN's seniority—only three Congressmen in the 435-Member House have served longer than his 36 years—and despite PATMAN's position as chairman of the Banking Committee, the Congressman's demand for Martin to resign carries about as much weight as the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on which it was printed.

The incident serves as an example of how potential power can be diluted, as PATMAN's has over the years.

## KNOWS HIS STRENGTH

It is doubtful, of course, whether a demand from any Member of Congress right now would prompt Martin to resign. He knows his strength, which is considerable, and his standing in President Johnson's eyes, which is also considerable.

This is no reflection on PATMAN's integrity, which is high, nor does it bear on the merits of his case against Martin.

## LITTLE ATTENTION PAID

What it does mean is that PATMAN has rebuked and berated big bankers in general and the Federal Reserve Board in particular

so often and so bitterly that scarcely anyone pays much attention to him any more.

Seldom a week goes by, it often seems, that PATMAN does not inveigh at length against them.

The main thrust of his arguments is always the same—that these groups want high interest rates and that these rates are the ruination of everything that is good.

Again, whether this is true is beside the point. The repetition of the argument, and usually in strong uncompromising terms, has cost PATMAN his audience.

## RECOGNIZES PROBLEM

PATMAN himself—to his credit—recognizes to some degree what the problem is. In the speech, he also said "think hard, think long, my colleagues. I am not making a plea for a pet peeve of WRIGHT PATMAN'S."

At another point, he said, "well, you will say, this is another one of PATMAN's diatribes against William McChesney Martin—we have been hearing the same for many years."

But his pleas went largely unheeded for that very reason—his audience has been hearing the same thing for many years.

**One Man, One Vote**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JAMES G. O'HARA**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 27, 1965*

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the Michigan Democratic State Central Committee has officially gone on record in opposition to current legislative efforts to upset the Supreme Court's historic one-man, one-vote decision on apportionment of State legislatures.

I thoroughly agree with the position taken by the State central committee and consider it a privilege to call to the attention of my colleagues the resolution adopted by the committee on July 18.

The resolution follows:

## RESOLUTION OPPOSING DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Whereas the Congress of the United States is presently considering Senate Joint Resolution 2, commonly known as the Dirksen amendment, proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to reverse the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision, so as to authorize legislative apportionment on any basis in the second house of a bicameral legislature; and

Whereas such proposal is contrary to all precepts of democracy assuring majority rule and equal voice in their Government to all citizens, without discrimination on account of race, sex, or residence; and

Whereas such proposal is transparently but a smoke-screen to perpetuate malapportioned legislatures, which are not only unconstitutional and unfair, but also indifferent and unresponsive to the needs of our citizens, particularly urban and suburban dwellers; and

Whereas fair and effective people representation has now been secured to Michigan by the courts; and our equitably apportioned one-man, one-vote legislature has demonstrated that people representation is responsible and responsive to the needs of all citizens, and such legislature has made dramatic progress in meeting the social needs of our citizens; and



dents of the arts and humanities would be bound to challenge. Is jazz any less an art form than much of serious modern music? Should cubists be subsidized and comic strip artists ignored? Would Riley, if he were living today, be a fit subject for a Government grant, or would the money go to some long-hair poet?

And who is better advancing the humanities—the graduate student working on a subsidized thesis or the young writer learning the hard way what humanity is all about?

The bill states in its preamble that "democracy demands wisdom and vision in its citizens," and the President in his accompanying message says "freedom is an essential condition for the artist."

Those are two of the best arguments we know for finding other methods than Government subsidies to encourage the arts and humanities.

### The Challenge of Citizenship

SPEECH  
OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the recent "Voice of Democracy" contest conducted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, an outstanding young student from the Fourth District of Illinois, Harry Wayne Simmon, represented the State of Illinois.

Harry is an outstanding student at Lyons Township High School in La Grange, Ill. He and the other young men and women who participated in this year's "Voice of Democracy" contest are outstanding examples of the talented and dedicated young generation who will mature to accept positions of responsibility in our society.

I am pleased to insert into the Record at this point the winning speech of Harry Simmon's in the Illinois Voice of Democracy competition:

THE CHALLENGE OF CITIZENSHIP, 1964-65

(By Harry Wayne Simmon, La Grange, Ill.)

You've heard how Americans have 50 percent of the world's wealth and 7 percent of its people. We're lucky to be Americans, aren't we? It seems we were born into a rose colored world. Right now we're proud of our country and our heritage.

To this kind of talk I say, "Save it." I'm tired of listening to eulogies and pride boasting speeches. Let men rest on the past, let them lean against the accomplishments of their grandfathers and fall asleep. In this changing world, not advancing is, in effect, falling backward. The freshness and vitality of America, those qualities which drove men to make us free, lie dormant, shut up behind social whims, cynicism, and selfishness.

You know people who are talented and industrious, but if they do anything at all with these attributes, it's only to gain financial security, power, or self-enjoyment. This is apparent in recent political scandals and campaign mudslinging.

Adult America has a sense of values brainwashed by the corruption and greed of a few. If there is a chance to save the freshness of America, it lies with her youth. Herein is the challenge of citizenship. America's youth cannot be carbon copies of her adults. America's youth are willing and wanting

right now to give and to create for something they can call their own, and what better to call your own than your country. But if their willingness is stifled, they turn delinquent or withdraw into themselves or set up false senses of values. Just by using all his resources, without slighting ingenuity and imagination, an American can advance the welfare and prestige of his country most. The highly developed minds and bodies of American youth deteriorate in waiting for a chance to exploit their talents for a worthwhile goal. Give youth a chance; give them freedom; challenge them with something worthwhile and they'll make America a hundred times greater than she already is.

Perhaps you say that they have chances to work off exuberance for their country. Maybe they do, but it is not the accepted thing in their society because it is not the accepted thing in adult society. When you hear a siren on the streets, how many cars actually pull to the side of the road, much less come to a halt? What percentage of your adult friends really know the issues of politics and have formulated their own answers? How many times have you heard adults complain about taxes? Moreover, how much are the letters "U.S.A." a part of your everyday vocabulary?

Take stock, friend. Look at the problem. Behold America. Is she really progressing in spirit as she is in automation, economy, and population? Her youth can and shall carry on the spirit of America.

This, then, is the challenge of citizenship for all Americans: for adults it is to set an example by laying cynicism aside and picking up the banner of vitality and plain, honest drive; for youth it is to follow the example and exploit their natural freshness and naive courage.

There is a bond between men which Emerson called "the nimble air benign." It is the universality of man, his need for love, for self-pride, for identity, maybe it's just conscience; but whatever it is, we can use it as a connecting agent to help us all know how to use our talents. But talent is nothing without courage and imagination to put these natural qualities to work—to work for America.

### The Symphony Comes to Middletown, N.Y.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 15, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a prime objective of my bill, Senate bill 310, the National Arts Foundation Act of 1965, is to encourage the living arts in communities which otherwise would not have opportunities to benefit from them. The bill seeks to do this through State art councils and other nonprofit means. New York has had such a council since 1960; and it has succeeded admirably in working with such communities within the State. One such effort came to realization recently when the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra came to Middletown, N.Y., and presented a concert, sponsored by the Greater Middletown Arts Council, in cooperation with other community agencies and the New York State Council on the Arts.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article—from the February 23 issue of

the Middletown Times-Herald Record—describing this achievement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE SYMPHONY COMES TO TOWN

(By Marian Feman)

MIDDLETOWN.—"Let's book a symphony this season. Let's bring a topflight symphony orchestra to Middletown. There's nothing quite like the big, full, thrilling sound of live music."

One enthusiastic member of the Greater Middletown Arts Council convinced the other directors that a symphony concert would add to the life of the area.

The concert by the Minneapolis Symphony which will take place at Middletown High School this Sunday afternoon at 2:30 was planned almost a year ago.

But the price was high for a small city. Art, like other commodities in demand, costs money.

The State arts council came to the rescue with a sizable grant. The local arts council paid its share of more than half the guarantee, which was several thousand dollars. One hundred and 50 patrons gave additional support. Finally the contract was signed.

Next came the job of filling those 1,600 seats at Middletown High School.

The three arts council sponsors—the Middletown school system, Orange County Community College, and the Times-Herald Record went to work.

Schools in three counties were contacted and students invited to attend for only \$1.50. Music teachers talked up the value of hearing a live symphony orchestra. Four hundred student tickets, the maximum at this price, were reserved almost immediately.

The press, radio stations, bill boards, organizations, supermarkets, the libraries, and even city buses carried the musical message—"the symphony is coming to town."

Adult tickets were scaled at \$3 and \$4.50. Soon the arts council's box office headquarters, at the Record's switchboard, began to buzz with activity. Mail orders were received within a 40-mile radius.

The program was chosen—Brahms' "First Symphony," Prokofiev's "Classical Symphony," and a contemporary work by Gunther Schuller "Seven Studies on Themes of Paul Klee."

Another artistic cover for Sunday's program was created by the arts council's artist, Dr. Fritz Blumenthal. His graphic designs are frequently offbeat and provocative.

Ushers were recruited from the high school and from Orange County Community College. Those lucky enough to be selected will attend the concert free of charge.

The time is drawing near for Sunday's concert. Last minute details must still be taken care of. Dressing rooms for the conductor and the performers must be arranged for. One hundred chairs must be set up. The piano must be tuned. Lighting must be just right, with no glare to disturb the musicians.

Early Sunday morning a truck will pull up to the high school, carrying 70 trunks of valuable instruments. These will be carefully unloaded by professional stagehands.

At 12:30 the orchestra members will arrive, and 2 hours later young Polish director, Stanislaw Skrowaczewski, will raise his baton and give the cue opening the program.

The artistic success of Sunday's concert, of course, depends upon the Minneapolis Symphony's performance. Behind the performance is months of diligent preparation by a large number of people—in the school system, in business, on the arts council—who have volunteered their services to bring more life, more culture, and more spark to the place where they live.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

March 15, 1965

**New Castro Fortifications Ring U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**  
OF

**HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been concerned about the lack of information on Cuba. I have made inquiry of the State Department only to be assured by the Assistant Secretary of State that Cuba is in a mess and that communism has been proven undesirable for the American States. Only yesterday I heard the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate state that Castro had been cut down to size, so it is really with great interest that I read James D. Hittle's article in the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., of March 14.

It seems to me that we are paying too little attention to what is going on in the Russian colony which lies within 90 miles of our shore.

**NEW CASTRO FORTIFICATIONS RING U.S. NAVAL BASE AT GUANTANAMO**  
(By James D. Hittle)

(NOTE.—James D. Hittle, a retired Marine Corps brigadier general, who is director of national security and foreign affairs for the VFW, recently visited the Naval Base at Guantanamo.)

In spite of the wishful thinking that Castro-land is too expensive for Moscow's budget, the Kremlin is not pulling out of Cuba.

Instead, communism is digging in for what looks like a long and troublesome stay. That is what I concluded during a recent tour of strategically placed Guantanamo Bay Naval Base on the southern tip of Cuba.

Since last August, the Reds have been fortifying the high ground surrounding the naval base boundary. And this is not any amateur pick-and-shovel trench digging. It is a highly professional job, reflecting an unusual degree of skill in the military organization of critical ground.

As a result of a tremendous engineering effort the Reds have cleared and smoothed a 300- to 500-yard wide belt about 15 miles long—completely around the land boundary of the base. Jungle, rocks, and cactus have been cleared. This provides a typical communist-style death strip like those with which the Reds have scarred the dividing line between freedom and oppression in Europe. One of its purposes is to prevent freedom-loving Cubans from seeking sanctuary in the naval base. To make the flight to freedom more difficult, the Reds have erected a wall of barbed wire down the middle of the strip. It is about 7 feet high and three rows wide. In itself it represents a heavy investment of money, material, and labor. But this is only part of the Red effort to seal off Guantanamo Bay. Behind the wire are the fortifications. These, in turn, consist of a series of deeply embedded firing positions. Each pillbox is carefully located, taking full advantage of terrain, most of which is higher than the base area.

**TRENCHES SKILLFULLY LOCATED**

One highly organized strongpoint consists of more than 20 separate firing positions. All the positions are placed to support each other with shields of fire that cover approaches to adjacent positions. Connecting these firing positions are skillfully located trenches. These not only run along the front, generally

parallel to the base boundary, but also extend from the rear of the line, thus giving covered routes of approach for troops and supplies.

Probably the most surprising and significant aspect of these fortifications is their heavy construction. Each firing point (pillbox) is constructed with prefabricated concrete, estimated to vary from 3 to 6 inches thick. When embedded in the ground, only the gun port and low rounded roof protrude above the surface.

With glasses I could clearly see the prefabricated concrete roof slabs being put in place. These are then covered by layers of poured concrete and earth, in a short time fast-growing vegetation will give hard-to-discern camouflage.

Far to the rear of the fortified line, land is being cleared for barracks construction. Cost of this hostile fortification around our base is estimated at close to \$15 million. When complete it will be one of the most intensively fortified positions in the world. I doubt that there is anyone in Castro's forces capable of planning and building such a skillful and massive network. The type of fortification, use of terrain-covered trenches and emphasis on fields of fire conform to Soviet military doctrine.

**REMEMBER MISSILE CRISIS**

Why this vast and surprising Red buildup? There is no one pat answer. Communist strategy is based on flexibility, the choice of methods—everything from propaganda to raw military power. It appears that the following factors are involved in the Moscow-Havana decision to ring our base with fortifications.

Moscow wants Guantanamo Bay. The Russian general staff knows full well, even if some Americans do not, that our base is the strategic key to the Caribbean, the approaches to Panama, and the protection of sea lanes essential to economic and military integrity of South America. Let us not forget that one of the most consistent themes of Kremlin propaganda is "kick the United States out of Guantanamo."

Neither Cuban Premier Fidel Castro nor Moscow has forgotten their scare during the 1962 missile crisis when they were so vulnerable to U.S. military action. An attack from Guantanamo Bay combined with air and sea assault from the Florida area, would have broken the Red grip on Cuba. Russian military thought always has been extremely sensitive to an exposed flank.

**OFFENSIVE ROLE POSSIBLE**

If another threat of U.S. retaliation should develop, Castro and his Kremlin overlords want to prevent the possibility that U.S. units from Guantanamo Bay might link up with other forces and Cuban freedom fighters.

Also, the new fortifications could perform a dual offensive-defensive role. If the Reds ever decided to attack the base, their best corridor of attack would be down the long and broad plain of the Guantanamo River, which rises in the mountains in the northwest and flows in a southeasterly direction into the bay.

In such a tactical situation, Red gunfire from the fortifications, supplemented by artillery in the hills to the northwest, would try to immobilize our forces in the base in order to assist the armored attack down the plain. This would be in accord with the tactical doctrine for holding forces and maneuver force.

But the Soviet tacticians must realize it would not be a walk-in for them. Navy and Marine units at the base, backed by carrier aviation and naval gunfire, would be doing something, too.

**SERVE PROPAGANDA PURPOSE**

It is probable, though, that the fortifications are intended to serve a more immediate propaganda role.

Taking advantage of our well-known desire for peace, the Reds could deliberately create a war-threatening crisis. Then, to the tune of worldwide propaganda, they could offer to negotiate. When the timing is right from their standpoint they can increase tension by firing a few shots and publicly reinforcing troops in the fortifications. Their investment in these new fortifications will pay dividends in military credibility. This, in turn, they expect, will give added leverage in negotiations.

**Tribute to John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman of the Civil Service Commission**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**  
OF

**HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH**

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 15, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, an excellent tribute to the new Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Mr. John W. Macy, Jr., appeared in the March 10, 1965, issue of the Government Employees' Exchange.

Because of Mr. Macy's most remarkable accomplishments, ability, and vigorous talent, I request that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**MACY'S REAPPOINTMENT AS CSC CHIEF APPLAUDED BY FEDERAL EMPLOYEES**

Federal employees everywhere in the world are commending President Johnson for reappointing John W. Macy, Jr., to the chairmanship of the Civil Service Commission for a 6-year term. Members of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, in confirming him for the post on March 4, made audible the expressions of pleasure felt by Federal careerists, male and female alike, physically able and partially disabled alike, by majority and minority groups alike.

Readers of this newspaper if they haven't, by this time, become intimately acquainted with Mr. Macy, his personality, and his remarkable work history, with the inspiration he inculcated in every Federal department and agency in the Government, with the vigor he has supplied every one of the talented careerists in the Federal service, together with his tireless energy to attract the talented into the Federal service, then this newspaper has not done a good job. At 47, his career has just begun. When this remarkable man sleeps no one will ever know. Those who know him never cease to wonder where he unearths his drive, how he amasses his wisdom for fair play, when he gets the time not only to perform his responsibilities but to express himself in the many professional personnel journals, which this newspaper has been fortunate to accumulate. He arrives at his office in the wee hours of the morning and leaves it with a bulging briefcase at night. Members of the Civil Service Commission staff having business with him one day not so long ago said "you have to catch him on the run. He's on the move practically all of the time." The Exchange, in 1961, recorded for its readers just prior to his confirmation, that he "would go anywhere and do anything" to improve the lot of Federal employees. As careerists well know, he has demonstrated that he meant those words, and is daily continuing to do so. Several months ago, this newspaper speculated to itself if the unsupported rumors that

March 15, 1965

**To See Cuba, Let's Face It**

For the past few days Herald readers have been getting a close inside look at Communist Cuba.

Our Latin American editor, Al Burt, spent 8 weeks on the shattered island, the longest stay of any nonresident American correspondent since the Castro takeover. His dispatches, which will continue to appear for some time, are detailed and revealing. The picture is grim.

Cuba is a total police state. Controls are more severe than in any other Communist country. The block warden system has the entire populace spying on one another.

The penalty for dissent is drastic. A recent OAS report said one-sixth of all Cubans have seen the inside of a Castro jail since 1959. An estimated 94,000 political prisoners are now in custody.

There is no visible external or internal force that seems likely to bring about Castro's abrupt downfall.

The whole Cuban nation is transformed into an instrument of Communist policy. Its meaning for the United States and the free world is alarming.

Cuba is available to Russian military power, to strike at the United States from the rear in any world confrontation.

It is the dagger of subversion aimed at Latin America, a clear and ever-present danger to every democratic government in the hemisphere.

But more sinister and subtle is the indoctrination of a generation of Cubans with a hate-America virus. The entire police state, reports Mr. Burt, is dedicated to the destruction of American ideals.

The threat from the Red island makes it hard to understand how a well-known American newspaper can look with complacency, as it did this week, on what it considers the forward thrust of the Cuban revolution.

It puts a strange cast on the willingness of anti-Communist Spain to put profit above principle and become Cuba's chief supplier outside the Red bloc.

The administration in Washington shows a tendency to shove the Cuban problem into the back drawer and hope for the best while giving top priority to other foreign crises to the point of risking war.

The plain fact is that Red Cuba is part of a single problem that must be faced in the Caribbean as in southeast Asia.

Mr. Burt's dispatches show that Cuba is not a side issue of the cold war but a star act in communism's three-ring circus. To ignore that is a risk we cannot afford.

There may never be a free Cuba again unless we face that fact and act on it.

**Great Falls****EXTENSION OF REMARKS****HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1965

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, an excellent poem written by Mrs. Marlene Latimer Bondurant of Alexandria, Va., has been called to my attention as it was published in the Falls Church (Va.) Sun-Echo in the editor's words and I quote:

Mrs. Bondurant's poem about Fairfax County's beautiful Great Falls is indeed timely what with President Johnson's avowal to preserve the historic Potomac River valley's natural beauty and grandeur.

I commend this work to my colleagues in the Congress of the United States.

**GREAT FALLS**

(By Marlene Latimer Bondurant)

Along the Potomac Palisades  
With endless surge all night and day  
The misty-eyed river cascades  
Splashing midst snow-white foam and spray  
While in the sun pink dogwoods bask,  
Creating a scene so picturesque.

**Art and Aid****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in the last 5 months I have addressed a number of gatherings of professional practitioners of the arts and humanities in various parts of the country. To each of these gatherings I have stressed my belief that there is a fundamental change developing in the attitude toward intellectual and cultural life in the United States and that the time is right for the Federal Government to take steps to encourage this changing attitude. This has been one of my arguments for establishment of a National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities, as proposed in the modified Moorhead bill, H.R. 6051, introduced in the House last week. In a recent editorial, the Christian Science Monitor made the point that the artist needs to be honored in his own land. This is true, of course, for the humanist too, and for all teachers. I think the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities would point us in that direction. I include the Monitor editorial of March 2, 1965, at this point in the Appendix:

**ART AND AID**

While the British Government is raising its support of the arts by 30 percent, the American Government remains virtually at the beginning of doing anything for them at all.

We welcome the burst of activity bespeaking Congress belated concern for the arts and the whole field of humanities.

Government patronage in the realm of humane values may have more pitfalls than its already substantial patronage of the sciences. But, in a society changing under the ministrations of the scientist, the insights of the artist and the scholar have become more necessary than ever. The time is overdue for the American Government to define its role in developing a climate for excellence in artistic as well as technological fields.

In legislation for education and research, the humanities should not be penalized because their benefits may be less tangible than the visible achievements of science. Among nonprofit institutions such as museums, theaters, and symphony orchestras, there could well be Government support as expenses rise in proportion to what the public can be expected to pay. The splendid achievements of private initiative must not be allowed to dwindle for lack of the necessary boost as economic conditions change.

The problems of administration would be difficult. How to separate the worthy from the unworthy on artistic rather than political grounds? How to keep the scholar or insti-

tution from tempering the work to what it imagines to be acceptable at a given moment instead of striking out in directions that may be more important in the future?

The United States would certainly not go the way of the Soviet Union where Government support and control go together. It would go in the direction of those European nations that have managed, to a large degree, to keep support and control separate. In Britain, for example, the newly allocated funds will go to the Arts Council, which provides a kind of buffer between the arts and political influence.

Some such body would presumably be created in the United States if Federal aid to the arts goes ahead. Indeed, President Johnson has already appointed an Advisory Council on the Arts. It is an estimable group, but stronger on what might be called establishment names than those further out, where new ideas, good and bad, often arise. It hints at the problem of creating an administering body that would not inhibit the very creativity it was set up to foster. And, with constituents' money involved, does anyone doubt that Congressmen would be looking over the shoulders of an avant-garde that might seem to be involved in things even less probable than going to the moon?

Such questions would become more urgent if Federal aid should extend to individual artists. The great ones will survive in spite of Government as well as because of it. Others might forgo the potential breakthrough in favor of the project thought more likely to get a grant.

Indeed, if Government patronage is added to that of the foundations and the universities, some artists might be cut off from the human experience that gives substance to art.

Against such considerations must be placed the possibilities of enriching the public with more works and performances freed of commercial limitations. Ironically, as Congress awakes to the arts, the country is in the midst of a "cultural explosion" without congressional patronage.

Judiciously administered aid is necessary. But its effect will be diminished if the Government fails to show a sensitivity toward the differences between the arts and other things. More than money, what the Government needs to give the artist is a sense of being honored in his own land.

**Pacific Northwest Floods****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. AL ULLMAN**

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1965

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the major concerns throughout the flood-damaged regions of the Pacific Northwest is for the immediate repair or reconstruction of forest access roads. Timber processing is the leading provider of industrial payrolls in the region, and it is of the utmost urgency that authority and funds be granted to complete the job on federally managed forest areas.

The following resolution by the Oregon Logging Conference emphasizes the importance of this problem:

OREGON LOGGING CONFERENCE,  
Eugene, Oreg., March 8, 1965.

HON. AL ULLMAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ULLMAN: The 27th annual session of the Oregon Logging Confer-

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difficult to provide the type of comprehensive medical care to which our veterans are entitled."

Why? "Sufficient highly trained and skilled professional personnel cannot be persuaded to accept positions in these areas, nor is the provision of expensive facilities and equipment feasible."

The VA has drawn a list of what it regards as 19 "essential professional services" which should be "reasonably available" to hospitalized vets. Such as radiation treatment, heart surgery, and psychiatric services.

## ESSENTIAL SERVICES

Of the hospitals slated for closing, it says, the one in Fort Bayard, N. Mex., is able to provide only one of these services; Dwight, Ill., and the Broadview Heights Division of the Brecksville, Ohio, hospital, three; Miles City, Mont., four; Grand Junction, Colo., six; Bath, N.Y., seven; Rutland Heights, Mass., eight; and Cedar Point, N.Y., McKinney, Tex., and Sunmount, N.Y., nine.

Only the VA hospital in Lincoln, Nebr., rates high on this score. It can provide 14 of the 19 essential services. But the VA wants to close the Lincoln facility on grounds there already are 350 excess beds in the area—due chiefly to the fact that so many vets are moving away.

Dr. Brem, a professor of medicine at the University of Southern California, says the VA's 23-member Special Medical Advisory Group, which he heads has expressed strong support for the changes proposed.

The group is made up of 16 physicians, a social worker, a dentist, a psychologist, a nurse, a sociologist, a hospital director, and a nutritionist.

NOTE.—Dr. Thomas H. Brem, professor of medicine at the University of Southern California's School of Medicine and chairman of the VA's Special Medical Advisory Group, a body of outside medical experts established by law to advise the VA on the treatment of sick and disabled veterans.

## Immigration Changes

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the March 11, 1965, issue of the Washington Post contains a fine editorial calling attention to the excellent testimony which Attorney General Katzenbach presented last week in support of the immigration revision legislation now under consideration by our Judiciary Committee. The editorial clearly and concisely points out the central purpose of the legislation and the benefits, both actual and intangible, which it will bring to the Nation. It deserves consideration by all Members of Congress and I am pleased to have the editorial included in the RECORD:

## IMMIGRATION CHANGES

If you want to know precisely what changes would be made in American immigration policy by the immigration bill which President Kennedy sent to Congress, read the Attorney General's statement of last Wednesday to the House Judiciary Committee. It sets forth in simple, lucid, nonrhetorical terms just what the bill would do and what it would not do. In view of some of the nonsense that has been uttered recently about opening the floodgates to immigrant hordes,

Mr. Katzenbach's straightforward, down-to-earth analysis is most salutary.

Immigration proposals always open the door to the bogeyman of unemployment. The administration bill would permit the admission of only 700 more immigrants than are authorized under existing law. But because of the way in which immigration quotas are currently rigged—so that many go unused because assigned to countries whose citizens have no desire to come here—there would be an actual increase of approximately 60,000 immigrants over the number now admitted each year. As Mr. Katzenbach pointed out, this would amount, in relation to the American internal population growth of nearly 3 million each year, to 2 percent. He refers to this as "an infinitesimal price to pay for our own advancement and advantage." In simple truth, it should be reckoned not as a "price" at all but as an enrichment.

The simple, central point about the proposed changes in immigration policy is that they would do away with the national origins quota system—a meanly racist basis of selection—and put in its place a selection on the basis of skills useful to the United States. The old system, as the Attorney General said, "ought to be intolerable on principle alone. We must be concerned with the quality of persons, not of pedigrees." Immigrants with skills to contribute to the American economy will, as producers and consumers, help to keep that economy in high gear.

Rev. John J. Reeb

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last Friday I suggested that American flags be flown at half-mast to express the Nation's sorrow over the death of the Reverend John J. Reeb in Alabama, who gave his life in the cause of human rights, dignity, and freedom.

Lowering the flag would also be an expression of shame for the events in Alabama, where the courageous clergyman was a victim of ignorance, bigotry, and hate, a natural reaction to the breakdown of civilized government in that State, where the murder of innocent men and the killing and crippling of little girls goes unpunished.

The Governor of Alabama and his police-state tactics have seriously damaged the image of the United States in the free world and have given the Communists a powerful propaganda weapon.

Our Nation mourns today with a widowed mother and her four fatherless children. Let us hope that the recent brutal killing will encourage the good citizens of Alabama to cleanse their State of official lawlessness, brutality, and national shame.

Over the years, Mr. Speaker, Alabama has been represented in both Houses of Congress by dedicated Representatives, of whom the people of that State and the Nation are mighty proud.

Let us give encouragement to the decent white citizens of that State who last week marched to the courthouse in Selma to express a sense of outrage at offi-

cial misconduct, police brutality, and suppression of the rights of citizens.

The leader of the group of 72 white citizens which made the courageous march was Joseph Ellwanger, chairman of the Concerned White Citizens of Alabama.

As white citizens of Alabama—Ellwanger said:

We have come to tell the Nation that there are white people in Alabama who will speak out against the events which have recently occurred. By our presence we affirm our faith in the abiding principles upon which our Nation is founded—a nation under God with liberty and justice for all.

Mr. Speaker, if the recent tragic event in Selma will awaken the consciences of Alabama citizens, Reverend Reeb will not have died in vain.

*Cuba*  
We Must Not Forget Red Cuba While  
We Worry About Vietnam

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, while the American people have their attentions focused on the conflicts building up in Vietnam, and pressure builds as international news dispatches carry developments as they occur by the hour, the problem of communism in Cuba continues to plague the stability and security of this hemisphere.

We cannot allow our national attentions to be diverted from one Communist-initiated crisis to another, to be drawn into the position of constantly reacting. In Cuba, for example, while authorities ponder solutions to Vietnam, Fidel Castro has been readying a new wave of subversion and terrorism in Latin America. This is typical of the tactics which the Communists employ as they attempt to further their purposes throughout the world.

Americans must not relent in their efforts to replace liberty where it has been deprived through communism. Americans must dedicate themselves to the constant effort of effecting the downfall of Communist Castro and the denial of rights he has placed on the island of Cuba. The risks are too great to overlook the fact that Cuba is of vital strategic importance to communism. We need only to recall the events of October 1962, when the world looked on while the United States held to demands that missiles be removed from this hemisphere, to know the treachery of communism.

One of Florida's leading newspapers, the Miami Herald, which certainly ranks as a distinguished authority on events in the Caribbean and Latin America, articulated the problem of overlooking Cuba in the face of Red-inspired pressures elsewhere in a very succinct manner on March 5. I include the Herald editorial of that day in the Appendix of the RECORD:



**GREAT BRITAIN SUPPLYING CUBA  
WITH \$10 MILLION WORTH OF  
CERTAIN EQUIPMENT**

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, all of us have been shocked by the news that Great Britain has entered into an agreement with Communist Cuba to supply them with \$10 million worth of equipment. Great Britain, knowing that it is the official policy of this Government and the nations of this hemisphere to isolate Cuba, has seen fit to ignore this policy.

I think it is high time for this Government to take action to show its displeasure. The best way to do it is for this Congress itself to take action by passing a bill that has been introduced to close the ports of this Nation to the ships of any government which allows its ships to trade with Cuba. If we were to close the ports of this Nation to the British ships until they stopped this shipping to Cuba, we would have a quick reaction and we would quickly isolate Cuba and get rid of Castro and his Communist government in Cuba.

**PRIVATE CALENDAR**

The SPEAKER. This is Private Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Private Calendar.

**OUTLET STORES, INC.**

The Clerk called the first bill on the Private Calendar (H.R. 2300), for the relief of the Outlet Stores, Inc.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

**DR. AND MRS. ABEL GORFAIN**

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2706) for the relief of Dr. and Mrs. Abel Gorfain.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

**CHARLES WAVERLY WATSON, JR.**

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2728) for the relief of Charles Waverly Watson, Jr.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

**JOHN F. MACPHAIL**

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5145) for the relief of John F. MacPhail, lieutenant, U.S. Navy.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

**ALEXANDER HAYTKO**

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6092) for the relief of Alexander Haytko.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the limitation on the time within which applications for disability retirement are required to be filed under section 7(b) of the Civil Service Retirement Act (5 U.S.C. 2257(b)) is hereby waived in favor of Alexander Haytko, Los Angeles, California, a former employee of the Department of the Air Force, and his claim for disability retirement under such Act shall be acted upon under the other applicable provisions of such Act as if his application had been timely filed, if he files application for such disability retirement within sixty days after the date of enactment of this Act. No benefits shall accrue by reason of the enactment of this Act for any period prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

Sec. 2. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, benefits payable by reason of the enactment of this Act shall be paid from the civil service retirement and disability fund.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

**CAROLINE G. JUNGHANS**

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 8878) for the relief of Caroline G. Jungahns.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

**ESTATE OF PAUL F. RIDGE**

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4361) for the relief of the estate of Paul F. Ridge.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Paul H. Ridge and Hilda Ridge Neill, as executors of the estate of Paul F. Ridge, who died a resident of Alamance County, North Carolina, on July 15, 1957, the sum of \$5,581.28, with interest thereon at the rate of 6 per centum per annum from October 15, 1958, to the date of payment under this Act. The payment of such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims of said estate against the United States for refund of Federal estate taxes erroneously paid by reason of the inclusion in said estate of a farm in which the said Paul F. Ridge held only a courtesy interest, plus interest: *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent

or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with the enactment of this Act, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 9, strike "October 15, 1958" and insert "May 31, 1962".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

**ROBERT E. MCKEE GENERAL CONTRACTOR, INC., AND KAUFMAN & BROAD BUILDING CO.**

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4972) for the relief of Robert E. McKee General Contractor, Inc., and Kaufman & Broad Building Co., a joint venture.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Robert E. McKee General Contractor, Incorporated, of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Kaufman and Broad Building Company, of Phoenix, Arizona, the sum of \$145,203. The payment of such sum shall be in full settlement of all the claims of Robert E. McKee General Contractor, Incorporated, and Kaufman and Broad Building Company, against the United States, remaining unpaid, for certain additional amounts due on account of work performed under a contract (numbered AF 20 (602)-636) with an agency of the United States (dated September 24, 1959) for the construction in connection with the housing project built under title VIII of the National Housing Act at Selfridge Air Force Base, Michigan. The necessity for payment of additional amounts under the contract arose because of unforeseen expenses resulting from errors in the topographical survey, but such payment could not be made on account of the statutory per-unit ceiling contained in section 505 of the Act of September 28, 1951 (65 Stat. 365): *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert: "That notwithstanding the per-unit cost restrictions of section 803(b)(3) of the National Housing Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 1748(b)(3)(B)), or any statute of limitations, jurisdiction is hereby conferred on the United States Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment on the claims of Robert E. McKee General Contractor, Incorporated, and Kaufman and Broad Building Company, against the United States, for certain additional amounts due on account of work performed under a contract (numbered AF20(602)-636) with the United States dated September 24, 1959, for the construction in connection with the housing project built

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tently excessive use of overtime causes increased unemployment. So therefore, I recommend legislation authorizing the creation of tripartite industry committees to determine, on an industry-by-industry basis, as to where a higher penalty rate for overtime would increase job openings without unduly increasing costs—and authorizing the establishment of such higher rates.

Let me make one principle of this administration abundantly clear: All of these increased opportunities—in employment, in education in housing, and in every field—must be open to Americans of every color. As far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some but all racial discrimination.

For this is not merely an economic issue—or a social, political or international issue. It is a moral issue—and it must be met by the passage this session of the bill now pending in the House.

All members of the public should have equal access to facilities open to the public. All members of the public should be equally eligible for Federal benefits that are financed by the public. All members of the public should have an equal chance to vote for public officials, and to send their children to good public schools, and to contribute their talents to the public good.

Today Americans of all races stand side by side in Berlin and in Vietnam. They died side by side in Korea. Surely they can work and eat and travel side by side in their own country.

We must also lift by legislation the bars of discrimination against those who seek entry into our country, particularly those with much-needed skills and those joining their families. In establishing preferences, a nation that was built by the immigrants of all lands can ask those who now seek admission: "What can you do for our country?" But we should not be asking: "In what country were you born?"

For our ultimate goal is a world without war, a world made safe for diversity, in which all men, goods, and ideas can freely move across every border and every boundary.

We must advance toward this goal in 1964 in at least 10 different ways, not as partisans but as patriots.

First, we must maintain—and our reduced defense budget will maintain—that margin of military safety and superiority obtained through 3 years of steadily increasing both the quality and the quantity of our strategic, our conventional and our antiguerrilla forces. In 1964 we will be better prepared than ever before to defend the cause of freedom—whether it is threatened by outright aggression or by the infiltration practiced by those in Hanoi and Havana who ship arms and men across international borders to foment insurrection. And we must continue to use that strength, as John Kennedy used it in the Cuban crisis and for the test ban treaty, to demonstrate both the futility of nuclear war and the possibilities of lasting peace.

Second, we must take new steps—and we shall make new proposals at

Geneva—toward the control and the eventual abolition of arms. Even in the absence of agreement we must not stockpile arms beyond our needs or seek an excess of military power that could be provocative as well as wasteful. And it is in this spirit that in this fiscal year we are cutting back our production of enriched uranium by 25 percent. We are shutting down four plutonium piles. We are closing many nonessential military installations. And it is in this spirit that we today call on our adversaries to do the same.

Third, we must make increased use of our food as an instrument of peace, making it available—by sale, or trade, or loan or donation—to hungry people in all nations which tell us of their needs and accept proper conditions of distribution.

Fourth, we must assure our preeminence in the peaceful exploration of outer space, focusing on an expedition to the moon in this decade—in cooperation with other powers if possible, alone if necessary.

Fifth, we must expand world trade. Having recognized in the act of 1962 that we must buy as well as sell, we now expect our trading partners to recognize that we must sell as well as buy. We are willing to give them competitive access to our market—asking only that they do the same for us.

Sixth, we must continue, through such measures as the interest equalization tax as well as the cooperation of other nations, our recent progress toward balancing our international accounts.

This administration must and will preserve the present gold value of the dollar.

Seventh, we must become better neighbors with the free states of the Americas—working with the councils of the OAS, with a stronger Alliance for Progress, and with all the men and women of this hemisphere who really believe in liberty and justice for all.

Eighth, we must strengthen the ability of free nations everywhere to develop their independence and raise their standard of living—and thereby frustrate those who prey on poverty and chaos. To do this, the rich must help the poor—and we must do our part. We must achieve a more rigorous administration of our development assistance, with larger roles for private investors, for other industrialized nations, and for international agencies and for the recipient nations themselves.

Ninth, we must strengthen our Atlantic and Pacific partnerships, maintain our alliances and make the United Nations a more effective instrument for national independence and international order.

Tenth, and finally, we must develop with our allies new means of bridging the gap between the East and the West, facing danger boldly wherever danger exists, but being equally bold in our search for new agreements which can enlarge the hopes of all while violating the interests of none.

In short, I would say to the Congress that we must be constantly prepared for the worst and constantly acting for the best.

We must be strong enough to win any war, and we must be wise enough to prevent one.

We shall neither act as aggressors nor tolerate acts of aggression.

We intend to bury no one—and we do not intend to be buried.

We can fight, if we must, as we have fought before—but we pray that we will never have to fight again.

My good friends and my fellow Americans, in these last 7 sorrowful weeks we have learned anew that nothing is so enduring as faith and nothing is so degrading as hate.

John Kennedy was a victim of hate, but he was also a great builder of faith, faith in our fellow Americans, whatever their creed or their color or their station in life; and faith in the future of man, whatever his divisions and differences.

This faith was echoed in all parts of the world. On every continent and in every land to which Mrs. Johnson and I traveled, we found faith and hope and love toward this land of America and toward our people.

So I ask you now, in the Congress and in the country, to join with me in expressing and fulfilling that faith—in working for a nation—a nation that is free from want and a world that is free from hate—a world of peace and justice, and freedom and abundance, for our time and for all time to come.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

At 1 o'clock and 16 minutes p.m., the President, accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Doorkeeper escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order:

The members of the President's Cabinet.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign governments.

## JOINT SESSION DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The Chair declares the joint session of the two Houses now dissolved.

Accordingly, at 1 o'clock and 18 minutes p.m., the joint session of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

## RECESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair declares the House in recess until 2 o'clock.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

## REFERENCE OF PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the message of the President be referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered printed.

The motion was agreed to.

munist country? This is especially distressing in view of Secretary Freeman's admission to the wheat subcommittee that he had denied preferential treatment to at least one free-world customer a few days before he granted the bargain to Russia.

The best price friendly countries have received recently was 59 cents on December 19.

In his testimony Secretary Freeman also admitted the bargain to Continental was not on a competitive bid basis, and indeed, so far as he knew, was the only bid for durum wheat that day. What is the authority for granting preferential treatment to Continental?

I respectfully repeat my request that the export license be suspended until questionable legal aspects are clarified and until conflicts in statements by your two Cabinet officers are resolved.

PAUL FINDLEY,  
Member of Congress.

I challenged the legality of the transaction in a letter Monday to the Comptroller General, Joseph Campbell. The text of my letter follows:

DEAR MR. CAMPBELL: I would appreciate a report at the earliest possible date on questionable legal aspects of the export transaction announced Friday by the Department of Agriculture, involving the sale of about 13 million bushels of Durum wheat to Continental Grain Co. for resale to Russia.

1. It appears to me that the Department of Agriculture exceeded its authority in granting an abnormally high export subsidy in this transaction. The rate paid was 72½ cents a bushel, 14½ cents a bushel higher than that granted for recent exports of the same wheat variety.

In fact, the Wall Street Journal today reports as follows: "Underlining the abnormally big subsidy on the Durum destined for Russia is the fact that on December 30 the Department refused to pay a 59-cent subsidy on 110,000 bushels, and on Friday refused to pay 73 cents on 37,333 bushels. These smaller export deals were for Durum to be exported to free world destinations."

Most news reports explain the abnormal export subsidy as an indirect subsidy to cover part of the cost of ocean shipping.

The Associated Press on January 5, reporting the Continental Grain transaction said, "One Department official questioned about the possibility that the Durum subsidy included both an export and a transportation subsidy denied flatly that there was a transportation subsidy. But another said the Department does not contend that no indirect transportation subsidy is involved."

These questions arise:

Does the Department of Agriculture have the legal authority to grant preferential treatment in establishing export subsidy rates on durum wheat? It is quite clear that Continental Grain Co. was singled out for this special rate. This preferential rate was not announced publicly to the trade in advance, and since the announcement of the Continental transaction, the preferential rate has been withdrawn.

Did the Department of Agriculture seek competitive bids before granting the abnormal subsidy? If not, why not? Does the Department of Agriculture have the authority to grant subsidies on commercial shipping beyond U.S. ports?

If so, does the Department of Agriculture have authority to include an indirect transportation subsidy in establishing an export subsidy rate? It is my understanding that the authority for establishing export subsidies cannot include the cost of transportation beyond U.S. ports.

If the hidden freight subsidy is construed to be legal, is the Government guaranteed a refund if the freight subsidy is not needed in its entirety?

2. It appears that the Department of Commerce violated its own published regulations in issuing the export license for this transaction.

I call your attention to Export Bulletin 883 of the Commerce Department, issued November 13, 1963, which requires each export license application must be accompanied by form FC 842. This form must list the quantity, value of commodities involved, and numerous other details. Was it properly filled out in advance of the issuance of the license to Continental? From what I have learned, it appears impossible that this requirement could have been met.

This question arises:

Did the Commerce Department have the legal authority to waive regulations in issuing the export license to Continental?

Prompt attention to this request is in the public interest, as this bizarre transaction, if not challenged, may be cited as the precedent for future deals.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL FINDLEY.

Text of my telegram on Monday to the President:

Respectfully urge that you suspend the export license to Continental Grain Co., which Friday received an abnormally high export subsidy for shipment of durum wheat to Russia, until questionable legal aspects of the deal are clarified by the Comptroller General.

PAUL FINDLEY,  
Member of Congress.

#### THE OTTO OTEPKA CASE UP TO DATE

(Mr. HOSMER (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on December 30, last, the respected American Security Council issued a paper prepared by its Washington bureau chief, Frank J. Johnson, bringing up to date the facts on the Otto Otepkas case. Because of its important relevance to the national security, I have asked the paper be here reproduced in full as follows:

##### THE CASE OF OTTO OTEPKA

On September 23, 1963, a long-smoldering issue broke into public view when the State Department served notice on the Chief of the Evaluation Division of the Office of Security, Otto Otepkas that is proposed to fire him for actions unbecoming to an officer of the Department of State. On November 5, 1963, Otepkas's answer to the charges was disregarded and the action was carried out subject to appeal and review by Secretary Rusk.

The reasons given for firing Otepkas are based mainly on charges that he cooperated with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) in the course of its still continuing investigation into State Department security procedures. The real reason, however, apparently lies in Otepkas's obstinate and conscientious effort to do his job too well. In trying to keep persons of questionable character or affiliation out of sensitive Government positions, he made a nuisance of himself in the eyes of his superiors. In placing loyalty to country, as he saw it, above institutional loyalty to the State Department, he violated the latter's code. In the eyes of State Department officials, he is out of step with the times.

Mr. Otepkas is a professional security officer and a good one. He came to the State Department in 1953 as a personnel security evaluator under the late Scott McLeod. In

1960 his State Department efficiency report noted his long experience with and extremely broad knowledge of laws, regulations, rules, criteria, and procedures in the field of personnel security. He is knowledgeable of communism and its subversive efforts in the United States. To this he adds perspective, balance and good judgment. This was the last efficiency report he received. His knowledge for correct procedures and insistence that they be carried out was to lead to his undoing.

On January 20, 1962, Otepkas was downgraded from Deputy Director of the Office of Security to Chief of the Evaluation Division. This Division has authority to clear persons who do not, in the judgment of its Chief, warrant an adverse ruling. Where there is derogatory information, the case is required to proceed through higher channels; any higher official may overrule the Evaluation Division and grant a clearance, but only the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration may concur and suspend the individual. After hearings are held only the Secretary of State may actually separate the man.

This procedure has particular application to Otepkas, because it concerns a security case in which he was importantly involved—that of William Arthur Wieland. In part, this case is responsible for Otepkas's troubles.

These difficulties really began in 1959 when the new Director of the Office of Security, William Boswell, a Foreign Service officer who was not a security expert, announced that he was going to eliminate the "McLeod image." Scott McLeod had been the first Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs until 1957. McLeod's strict procedures succeeded in eliminating many security risks from the State Department, though apparently at some cost to the "morale" of a number of Foreign Service officers. Boswell proposed to place Foreign Service officers in a position to check on other Foreign Service officers—an arrangement to which Otepkas objected in principle.

Otepkas personally worked on two major personnel security cases—John Stewart Service and William Wieland. Service had been separated from the State Department in 1950 for turning over documents to Philip Jaffe, publisher of Amerasia magazine (a definitely pro-Communist publication). He was ordered reinstated by the Supreme Court in 1956. In readjudicating his case, Otepkas found that he was not a loyalty risk, but raised questions as to his judgment and conduct. Service was subsequently cleared on all counts and sent as consul general to Liverpool. He retired in 1961. Wieland was a State Department desk officer who had a hand in shaping U.S. policy toward Cuba, both before and after Castro's takeover. To his superiors, he was an apologist for Castro, although he told friends privately as early as 1958 that Castro "is a Communist." A full security check was done on Wieland in response to an allegation that he, himself, was a Communist. Otepkas's conclusions did not support this charge, but did raise questions as to Wieland's integrity, based in part on falsehoods in his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Nevertheless, Wieland was "cleared" by Roger Jones, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration. He did so in September 1961 on the basis of only the "digest" of the Wieland findings, without first obtaining the recommendation of the intervening head of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, and without notifying the Office of Security of his decision. Not until January 25, 1962—1 day after the Wieland case was raised at a Presidential news conference, was Otepkas notified in writing by Boswell that Jones had, in fact, closed out the Wieland case. Otepkas objected to these irregular procedures. In the Service case the procedure in clearing him had at least been correct; not so in the case of Wieland.

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present parks superintendent, Earl Gaylor, and our commission chairman, Sam L. Good.

Mr. Wirth, or "Connie" as a few fortunate local citizens are privileged to call him, has had a proud, distinguished public career and as he voluntarily retires from the Department of the Interior, he does so with the well-deserved approving applause of millions of grateful people, which we hope will touch his heart and in some way reward him for his lifelong dedication to the parks and people of America. After retirement, in January, we earnestly hope Mr. and Mrs. Wirth will more often visit Wheeling, enjoy our friendship, continue to give us wise counsel as our parks become increasingly valuable each and every year, and rest comfortably in this appreciative community.

[From the Roanoke Times]

## A PUBLIC SERVICE WELL DONE

One of this Nation's most important assets is its national park system which comprises some 200 areas, including 31 parks, and covers 26 million acres. Each year the system draws 100 million Americans to enjoy its benefits.

One of the men chiefly responsible for all this is Conrad L. Wirth, who has just retired after 12 years as Director of the National Park Service. Mr. Wirth literally grew up with the Park Service, having been with it in all but the first 15 of its 47 years of existence, and he deserves a great deal of credit for the Service's popularity both in Congress and among Americans generally.

The familiar Mission 66 program, designed to greatly strengthen the national park system was conceived by Mr. Wirth, who then diligently worked for its approval and saw it well on its way to fruition when he stepped down. In this section of Virginia, with its great national forests and popular Blue Ridge Parkway, Mr. Wirth is widely known and his work appreciated.

Praise for the Park Service comes from Senator BYRD, who said, in commenting on Wirth's retirement, "I regard the national park system as one of the most worthwhile of all Federal programs." And Senator BYRD paid this tribute to Mr. Wirth in remarks on the Senate floor: "I suspect there is no other single man in the United States who has done so much for the healthful recreation and pleasure of so many people, along with promoting conservation of our natural resources and preservation of our historic areas." In retirement as well as during his more active years, Mr. Wirth has earned the gratitude of millions of Americans.

[From the Conservation News, published by the National Wildlife Federation]

## MISSION 66 A TESTIMONY TO VISION OF "CONNIE" WIRTH

As reported in the November 1, 1963, issue of Conservation News, Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service since 1951, is retiring from office in January 1964. Born in 1899, "Connie" Wirth had already logged many accomplishments and many years of park experience when he became Director. He has been a dedicated crusader, putting his whole heart into the preservation of the parks, at the same time maintaining that "parks are for people."

Wirth directed the Civilian Conservation Corps, first the State and county work and then the Department of the Interior's entire CCC program. This, it has been said, advanced the Nation's park program by at least 20 years. In 1936, he initiated the movement which resulted in passage by Congress of the Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Study Act. But the crowning achievement of his career is Mission 66, the dramatic and imaginative National Park System development program which caught the attention of the public and won the support of Congress by the magnitude of its design.

In the 10 years following World War II, a deep concern for the National Parks plagued Conrad Wirth. The parks were deteriorating. They had suffered through the lean war and postwar years. Appropriations had been cut to the bone, all but absolutely essential work had stopped, and staffs had been trimmed to mere skeleton forces. Yet, in the postwar years, droves of visitors flocked to the parks. Their impact hastened the deterioration. Clearly, something had to be done to call attention to the plight of the parks. It was then that Wirth conceived a fresh and objective idea of park development, and he gave it the name of Mission 66, to commemorate in 1966 the 50th anniversary of the National Park Service.

Wirth named a special task force which enunciated the following guidelines: Preservation of park resources is a basic requirement; substantial and appropriate use of the National Park System is the best means of assuring the perpetuation of the System; and adequate and appropriate developments are required for public use and appreciation of any area, and for prevention of overuse.

From this beginning, the goals of Mission 66 evolved as: Better public accommodations and services; campgrounds, roads and other improvements provided by the Government; a more adequate, better-trained staff; effective presentation and interpretation of the historic and natural scene; acquisition of needed park lands; cooperative planning for a national recreation program; and preservation of wilderness and the historic and natural scene.

The parks already accommodate more visitors than the number planned for by 1966. The original goals are now reaching achievement, and will continue under a new long-range plan to provide for constantly growing demands.

Thus, Mission 66 is a vital force that will leave its mark upon the National Park System and Service. This, in turn, will remain an enduring testimony to the vision and devotion of Conrad L. Wirth.

## BRITISH BUS DEAL WITH COMMUNIST CUBA PROVES "BUST" OF ADMINISTRATION'S ANTI-CASTRO TRADE POLICIES

(Mr. CRAMER (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the British bus deal with the Cuban Communist Government proves what a complete "bust" the administration's efforts to isolate, through trade restrictions, Castro's island fortress have been.

Our lack of real determination to provide needed leadership to accomplish trade restrictions is best evidenced by the administration's failure to protest this deal. This deal could be accomplished only with the British Government's acquiescence. The opening of an office in Havana by the British firm, Leyland Motor, Ltd., specifically required approval by Castro and the British.

Such a sale, with an operating office in Havana, amounts to tacit recognition of the Castro government by Great Britain and leads to the logical question, "Is this the first step toward normalizing trade relations with Cuba, toward eventual recognition?"

This is an example of the natural aftermath of the administration's push for trade of wheat with Russia on credit because Great Britain can logically ask,

"what is wrong with our trading buses with the Communists when the U.S. Government is trading wheat on credit with the Communists?"

It is obvious that the wheat on credit deal has undercut the strength of our moral position calling for trade restrictions against Communist Cuba in the eyes of the world. We are reaping the harvest of this clandestine compromise already.

The press report covering this bus deal, from the Washington Post of Wednesday, January 8, follows:

## CASTRO MAKES BIG BUS DEAL IN BRITAIN

MIAMI, January 7.—The Fidel Castro government announced today a \$10 million deal with a British firm in an effort to rehabilitate Cuba's broken-down bus system.

Havana Radio said the agreement calls for early delivery by Leyland Motor, Ltd., of 400 buses with 45-passenger capacity each and \$1.1 million in spare parts.

The broadcast, monitored here, said the British firm announced it will establish an office in Havana with commercial and technical personnel.

In Washington, officials said the administration has told Britain it is unhappy with the sale but has filed no formal protest. They said the administration was aware of negotiations between the British firm and Cubans, and had been in touch with the British Government on this and other sales to Cuba for a long time.

## ARE TAXPAYERS FINANCING WHEAT SHIPMENTS TO RUSSIA?

(Mr. FINDLEY (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, to what extent are the U.S. taxpayers financing bargain rate shipments of wheat to Russia? The strange secretly concluded deal with Continental Grain Co. for shipment of Durum wheat to Russia, just announced last week, leave many questions unanswered.

Today I sent this telegram to President Johnson:

On Monday I requested that you suspend the export license to Continental Grain Co. for shipment of durum wheat to Russia until questionable legal aspects are clarified. My request is even more urgent and pertinent in light of conflicting statements yesterday by two members of your Cabinet.

The American people are deeply concerned about this strange new policy of using U.S. tax dollars to finance trade with the Communists and are entitled to know which Cabinet officer has the facts straight.

Agriculture Secretary Freeman stated yesterday to the House wheat subcommittee that the 72-cent subsidy approved for Continental did not include a subsidy for shipping. Mr. Freeman described my questioning on this point as spurious.

The same day Commerce Secretary Hodges told a press conference it was his understanding that the shipping subsidy was included and was the reason why Continental got the abnormally high subsidy. As the officer responsible for issuing export licenses to Communist countries, Secretary Hodges certainly should know what he is talking about.

If the shipping subsidy was included, what is the legal authority for this?

If no shipping subsidy was included, what authority and justification can be given for granting preferential treatment to a Com-



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ston for which it is more valuable. At the same time the owner would be able to sell his rice acreage allotment and put other land into the production of this commodity. I just wonder if by the great expansion of the Space program in the State of Texas we have not twice enriched the rice producers. Does this mean mounting surpluses at the expense of the taxpayers when the sale of land for nonfarm purposes could otherwise curtail production?

Mr. Chairman, I have very serious questions about the whole philosophy of this program.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose, and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Davis of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3742) to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, relating to the transfer of producer rice acreage allotments, pursuant to House Resolution 570, he reported the bill back to the House.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 570, I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 1604) to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, relating to the transfer of producer rice acreage allotments.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (f) of section 353 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as added by Public Law 87-412, is amended in paragraph (3), clause (1) thereof, by adding immediately following the word "acquire" the language "except for land," and by striking out the language "and any land owned by the transferor to which any of the transferred rice history acreage may be ascribed".*

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill, H.R. 3742, was laid on the table.

## GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks on the bill, H.R. 3742, to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 relating to the

transfer of producer rice acreage allotments.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

## EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR DISASTER RELIEF TO CUBA

(Mr. WILLIS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, on December 16, 1963, shortly before the first session of the Congress adjourned, a two-column, page-length ad in the Washington Post appealed, "in the spirit of Christmas," for contributions to the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba, with offices at 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The ad revealed that the chairman of the organization was Sidney J. Gluck and the medical director, Dr. Louis Miller. The contribution coupon in the ad stated that checks should be made payable to Elizabeth Sutherland, treasurer of the group. The ad further revealed that the three initiating sponsors of the appeal were Mrs. Ava Helen Pauling, Carleton Beals, and Waldo Frank. The names of 80 cosponsors of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba were listed in the ad. Among them were 20 clergymen, 7 professors, a judge, 10 doctors—medical or Ph.D.'s—a painter, a sculptor, and some attorneys and writers.

It was quite an impressive display. And this display, coupled with the statement in the ad that the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba "is a nonprofit organization formed by a group of U.S. citizens for the purpose of carrying out a humanitarian, nonpolitical mission," probably succeeded in eliciting large contributions from readers of the Washington Post who thought they were helping a worthy cause.

I wish that the full facts about this organization and its appeal could have been made public the very day the ad appeared in the Post, or within a day or so after its appearance. Unfortunately that could not be done, but it is still important that the facts be given, that the public knows who is behind this organization, how and for what purpose it was formed.

The fact of first importance is that the appeal in the ad was a hoax, a phony. It was completely unnecessary. It was made to serve not the suffering Cuban people, but the evil designs of their oppressors, the enemies of freedom and humanity in this hemisphere and the entire world.

Before I spell out the hoax in this ad, however, I would like to state for the record some of the facts about the people who are the initiators and leaders of the committee and thus responsible for placing this Communist-serving ad in the Washington Post.

Sidney J. Gluck, chairman of the organization, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Mrs. Mil-

dred Blauvelt, an undercover informant for the New York City Police Department, when she testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on May 3, 1955. She stated that he was a member of the Flatbush Club of the Communist Party and, in 1944, was credited with recruiting 54 new members for the party. Gluck has served as an instructor in the Communist Party's major training institution in the United States, the now defunct Jefferson School of Social Science. As treasurer of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, he was subpoenaed to testify before the Committee on Un-American Activities on November 14, 1962, in the course of the committee's investigation of that group. During his appearance, he invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about present as well as past Communist Party membership.

Dr. Louis Miller, medical director of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba, was also medical director of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. The Committee on Un-American Activities was unsuccessful in its attempts, made over a period of many weeks, to locate Dr. Miller so he could be subpoenaed to testify in its hearing on the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee.

Testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities in executive session in 1951, Louis Budenz, former member of the Communist Party's national committee and managing editor of the Daily Worker, stated that he had met Dr. Miller during the 1940's at enlarged meetings of the Communist Party's national committee. A 1948 report of the Committee on Un-American Activities stated that during the 1940's Dr. Miller was one of the "principal New York contacts" of Soviet espionage agent, Arthur Alexandrovich Adams, who is known to have had information about the atom bomb in his possession when he escaped from the United States.

Dr. Miller began his "medical aid" role in the Communist movement during the 1930's when he served as chairman of the Medical Aid Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, a cited Communist front.

Elizabeth Sutherland, a senior editor for the publishing firm of Simon & Schuster and treasurer of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba, was also treasurer of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. Miss Sutherland was subpoenaed to testify before the Committee on Un-American Activities last year in the course of its investigation of illegal travel to Cuba. She admitted in the course of her appearance that she had been a member of, and had made a number of speeches at meetings of, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. She also admitted having signed an appeal to Great Britain to grant asylum to the late Dr. Robert A. Soblen, who had jumped bail and fled the United States after being convicted of spying for the Soviet Union and sentenced to life in prison.

Miss Sutherland, who had been granted validation by the State Department for travel to Cuba, testified that

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today passed the other body by unanimous consent some months ago.

When the committee was considering it, there was no objection raised; and as I read the report of the committee and as I note the opposing views, it impresses me that the opposition is to the farm program as a whole rather than to this measure which seeks only to cure an inequity and which applies to a small segment, perhaps not over 10 percent, of the rice producers in California, Texas, South Carolina, and parts of Louisiana.

The basic legislation which passed in 1962 provides that if a rice producer permanently withdraws from the business, he may transfer his acreage history to another producer or producers provided he sells his entire rice farming equipment and any irrigation not permanently attached to the land. The difficulty arises over the further provision that he must sell any land to which the production of rice is ascribed. In the States concerned, the allotment is not ascribed to the land and so confusion exists over the wording which found its way into Public Law 412 of the 87th Congress.

To give you an example of just one inequity which the present situation has developed, let us take the example of a farmer who owns 1,000 acres of rice land and who has, himself, a 100-acre allotment to which he has become entitled to farm on some piece of land other than his own. Then suppose he decides to move this 100 acres on to his own property and to rent to 9 other farmers 100 acres each. Anyone of the nine others can go out of the rice business merely by disposing of his allotment according to Public Law 412 but the man who happens to own the piece of land involved has to sell the land.

This was never intended in the original legislation. It is not the wish of the Department of Agriculture. It creates a manifest hardship on the landowner; and should most certainly be corrected. That is all that is involved in this legislation—simply the correction of an error.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to give my wholehearted support to H.R. 3742. This bill would return an element of free enterprise to the field of rice production. It would permit producers no longer interested in raising rice to transfer their allotments to persons who do wish to raise rice, but would no longer require them to also sell the land involved with these allotments. In effect, the land and the allotment would no longer be indelibly attached to each other.

This bill is of great significance to the South Carolina low country. At one time, Charleston was the rice center of the Nation. Indeed, rice production began in Charleston. The first field of rice in America was planted there and, for many years, rice planting was an eminently successful business in that area.

In later years, other businesses replaced rice in the low country. But the potential remains. There are those in my district who wish to revive rice planting near Charleston; they feel that it will be a million-dollar business. But first, they must be able to purchase these

now-unused rice allotments—allotments which are presently attached to lands which the owners do not wish to sell and the prospective producers do not wish to buy. H.R. 3742 would remedy this situation to the satisfaction of all concerned.

I am sure the problem I have just outlined is not confined to the Carolina low country alone; it is found wherever rice is—or was—raised. H.R. 3742 is the answer. I urge all Members to support its passage.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Chairman, the bill before you authored by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. CLARK THOMSON], should generate no debate because it is a measure that helps the little man and costs the Government and taxpayers nothing.

If you are going to assume the unrealistic attitude that you disfavor all supply-management programs and you do not want any program improved to give growers more freedom at no taxpayers' expense, then close your ears and vote against this bill.

On the other hand if you think it was right back in 1938 that rather than give an allotment to a feudal rice landlord that the allotment in fact be given to the tenant, then you should support this bill.

As you recall we are currently supporting six crops: Feed grains, wheat, cotton, tobacco, peanuts, and rice.

CCC losses for the period 1954 to date:  
Corn, \$2.2 billion, CCC losses, 10 years.  
Wheat, \$1.4 billion, CCC losses, 10 years.

Grain sorghum, \$604 million, CCC losses, 10 years.

Cotton, \$1.3 billion, CCC losses, 10 years.

Rice—rough, \$964,000, CCC losses, 1962-63.

Projected losses on all commodities for the current year are \$995 million.

In rice we determined in 1938 that it was to the advantage of the entire country that we not overplant this commodity.

Rice represents a potentially surplus commodity when supply management has been successful.

First, Costs have been minimal.

Second, We are planting 98 percent of the allotments.

Third, We have protected the little tenants.

The current bill would further protect the tenant because it would allow him to buy an allotment without being saddled with an expensive land purchase. (Rice land is extremely expensive.) Twenty-five years of operation has set no precedent for other commodities.

Today, as a result of the 87th Congress legislation, if a landowner-producer wants to get out of rice production he can first, lie and his allotment is severed from the land and goes to his family; second, he can sever a portion of his allotment and give it to members of his family; third, he can break up a partnership; or, fourth, he can sell his whole allotment, his equipment, and land.

If he has no family he cannot retire from rice unless he dies or gets rid of his farm. A tenant has this flexibility

and so should the landlord. Many landlords have two kinds of allotments—some affixed to the land and some not so. The rules should be made uniform.

As a practical matter it is better many times to rotate rice land, and this is another reason to support this bill.

At the present time in my State the only way for a new farmer to get into rice is to: first, buy a whole farm; second, buy a tenant allotment and lease; and, third, obtain a new farmer 30-acre allotment. I believe farmers in the last two categories should be encouraged and thus I would ask your support for this legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (f) of section 353 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as added by Public Law 87-412, is amended in paragraph (3), clause (1) thereof by adding immediately following the word "acquire" the language ", except for land," and by striking out the language ", and any land owned by the transferor to which any of the transferred rice history acreage may be ascribed".*

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: On page 1, line 5, strike lines 5 through 9 and insert in lieu thereof the words "is hereby repealed".

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment on the ground that it is not germane to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes; I do, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the title of the bill makes it clear that it is to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, relating to the transfer of producer rice allotments. The amendment that I have offered simply changes the subsection which is a part of the section dealing with the transfer of producer rice acreage allotments.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee). The Chair is ready to rule.

According to section 2949 of Cannon's Rule of Procedure, I read:

To a bill amending a law in one particular, an amendment repealing the law is not germane.

The Chair rules that the amendment is not germane.

The point of order is sustained.

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, as a city representative I am somewhat lost in this maze of Alice in Wonderland farm legislation. But something struck me as I read on page 2 of the report on H.R. 3742 the letter from the anonymous representative of the Department of Agriculture in which it appears that one reason for this bill is to permit some owners of rice producing land to sell their land for urban expan-

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she had seen a number of other Americans at the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress which she had attended while in Havana in August 1961. She refused, however, to identify these persons for the committee.

Basil Pollitt, legal counsel for the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba, was also legal counsel for the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. Over the years, he has been active in various Communist fronts and has served several terms as a member of the board of directors of the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as the "foremost legal bulwark" of the Communist Party. Years ago he admitted to an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities that he attended meetings of the Young Communist League while a student at Harvard. He denied, however, that he was actually a member of the group.

Mrs. Ava Helen Pauling, like her husband Linus who was one of the cosponsors of the ad, has been active in Communist-initiated peace agitation for a considerable number of years. Some of the well-known Communist fronts with which she has been associated are the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the American Continental Congress for Peace, Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War, and the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups.

Waldo Frank, one of the initiating sponsors of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba, was the original chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and also a sponsor of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. He has been active in Communist fronts since the late twenties and early thirties when he was a contributor to the Communist magazines, *New Masses* and *Soviet Russia Today*, and also a backer of the Communist Party's candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. At one time, he served as special correspondent for the Communist Party's official newspaper, the *Worker*. In 1955 he was invited to Red China. The State Department denied him a passport and was upheld in this action by the Supreme Court.

Frank has admitted to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he was paid \$25,000 by Castro's government to write a book about Cuba.

Carleton Beals, another initiating sponsor of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba, was cochairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at the time of its formation. He has been active in Communist-front groups since the late twenties when he was a contributing editor for *New Masses*. Recently he has written for the blatantly pro-Communist newspaper, the *National Guardian*.

I mentioned before that the display of names in the ad—the 80 cosponsors—was quite impressive. I should also point out that a few of those persons have been identified as Communist Party

members and that a large number of them are well known to students of the Communist movement in the United States. They have, for years, been among the foremost fellow travelers in the country.

Now, what are the facts about the need or desirability of any American contributing to this obviously Communist-serving relief organization? In other words, what was the validity of the appeal? Was it an honest one or a fraud?

Hurricane Flora struck eastern Cuba on October 4 and lashed large parts of the island for 4 days. It did tremendous damage to crops, cities and towns, and took hundreds of lives. Immediate offers of relief came from all over the world—from non-Communist nations as well as those under Red control.

The United States did not hold back despite the fact that it had severed diplomatic relations with Cuba, the island is serving as an oversea center for Soviet subversion of all of Latin America and an advance Red military base for future use against this country. The American Red Cross and other welfare agencies, with the knowledge and consent of our Government, offered to send medical supplies, food, emergency equipment, and relief and disaster specialists to Cuba—just as they did to Haiti, Tobago, and other Caribbean areas devastated by Hurricane Flora.

What happened?

Castro's Communist regime accepted the relief offered by all Communist countries and organizations and also the relief offered by non-Communist sources—except for the United States. The American Red Cross offer of assistance was turned down.

Castro had decided that he would deny to his suffering people the benefit of the funds, equipment, and know-how of the American Red Cross which, over a period of many years, has chalked up an outstanding record of speedy, effective, and massive relief to victims of disasters in all parts of the world. Castro had a Communist card up his sleeve, and he was going to play it no matter how much it hurt the Cuban people.

He was going to use the disaster as a vehicle for anti-U.S. propaganda in Cuba and throughout the world.

He was going to use the disaster in an attempt to divide the American people from their Government.

He was going to use it—and this was his primary objective—to break the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba and bring about a reversal of our Cuban policy.

Worldwide, this is a major Communist objective today because the blockade has hurt not only the Communist regime in Cuba but all Communist nations. All are economically hard pressed, yet they must keep Cuba going—the Cuba whose economy was wrecked by the bungling, waste, and mismanagement of Castro's Red regime even before Hurricane Flora struck. Cuba is a drain on the international Communist economy. The U.S. economic blockade intensifies the drain.

Castro's first step, following his rejection of U.S. aid, was an attempt to

justify his action in the eyes of the Cuban people, the American people, and the world. In typical Communist fashion, he claimed that his decision was based on his concern for world peace. On October 11, a Havana broadcast in English made the following statement:

The Cuban representatives in the United Nations in rejecting the offer of help used harsh words not just for the sake of calling names, but in order to alert the world to the dangerous role that the U.S. Government is playing, for it is an admitted fact that the warmakers are trying to do exactly what the hurricane did. \* \* \* Is it not hypocrisy and a fake gesture of generosity to offer help under such conditions? What is behind this deception? Is it not to blind the peace forces to the real nature of the warmaker's intentions, to dress up the beast of imperialism and make it look like a sweet kitten?

In refusing to cooperate with a lie, Cuba may be passing up some food and clothing and medicines that might have come through the Red Cross, but it is also preventing the warmakers from putting over a bluff. In that sense Cuba's rejection of the hypocritical or demagogic offer is a sacrifice that it is making in order to safeguard the peace of the world, and of course that is for the benefit of the people of the United States also.

Another English language broadcast to the United States on October 14 quoted from an editorial in the Cuban Communist newspaper *Hoy* of October 11, in explanation of why the U.S. offer had been rejected. This editorial claimed that the U.S. aid offer was "nothing more than a cheap way to confuse international public opinion about the policy of the United States toward Cuba" and a "trick to throw the world off guard, through which the imperialists hope to be able to carry out their war plan even more effectively."

Castro wanted to do more, however, than simply brand the United States as a hypocritical, warmaking imperialist nation. He wanted to use as many Americans as he could against their Government. He wanted, if possible, to split American opinion on the question of U.S. Cuban policy. For this reason, the October 11 broadcast, from which I have already quoted, directed an appeal for assistance to the American people, as distinguished from the U.S. Government.

The broadcast reviewed aid that had been given to foreign Communist causes in the past through Communist fronts operating in the United States. It mentioned, as examples, the work of the North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy during the thirties and the World War II operations of Russian War Relief. The broadcast stated:

The common people in the United States have proved by their past action \* \* \* that they will respond to calls for help just as generously as the people of France, Israel, the Soviet Union, or any other country, provided that an organization is present to help them channel their sentiments.

The last part of that quotation is most significant and bears repetition: "Provided that an organization is present to help them channel their sentiments."

Then the appeal for help was made to the American people. The Cuban broadcast said:

Let us remember that, at the same time that Cuba's United Nations Ambassador rejected an offer of aid from the United States, he also said, "However, we will accept any offer of help from the North American people, from any U.S. citizen who wishes at this time to express solidarity with us in any way he sees fit." Those are the words of an official spokesman of the Cuban Government.

In another English language broadcast on October 14, Havana radio stated that though Cuba had rejected American Red Cross assistance:

The first thing to notice is that the Cubans have not turned their backs on an offer of help from the people of the United States, but only on official or semiofficial agencies of the U.S. Government. We cannot repeat this too often.

This broadcast again quoted the words used by the Cuban Ambassador to the United Nations in rejecting the U.S. offer of assistance:

However, we will accept any offer of help from any U.S. citizen who wishes at this time to express his solidarity with us in any way he sees fit.

The Havana radio broadcasts did not fall on deaf ears. On October 18, a "Dear Friend" letter was mailed from the post office box of Dr. Louis Miller in New York to persons who had been on the mailing list of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee when it was functioning. The letter told of the damage Hurricane Flora had done to Cuba. It announced that the signers of the letter "are working to dispatch shipments of medical and relief supplies directly through hospital institutions as we did with medical aid before." It closed with an appeal for contributions and word that checks should be made payable to Dr. Miller. The letter was signed by Dr. Miller, as former medical director of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee; Sidney J. Gluck, as the former treasurer of the organization; and Basil Pollit, as its former legal counsel.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee also acted. A few days later, Vincent Theodore Lee, the FPCC's national director, mailed a letter in support of the Communist-promoted relief for Cuba drive to those on his group's mailing list. Lee, by the way, appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities last year in the course of its investigation of illegal travel to Cuba and invoked the fifth amendment on present Communist Party membership. Here are a few excerpts from the two-page appeal that was mailed from the Fair Play for Cuba headquarters in New York City over Lee's signature:

Already an independent ad hoc committee of persons with various attitudes toward the Cuban revolution has been formed to conduct such a [Cuban relief] program. It is called the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba.

It is the will and the desire of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to use every one of our resources to see that this committee successfully achieves its goal of raising the funds needed to buy medical supplies and food items such as powdered milk for children in hungry Cuba. \* \* \*

We ask you to open your hearts and send a check for this cause immediately. \* \* \* Please, this is not for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, send all moneys for the Cuban

relief to the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba or its treasurer.

Until this new committee obtains an office of its own we will accept checks at the national office of Fair Play but they should be made out to the aforementioned organization for their use only.

Mr. Speaker, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been the major pro-Castro front in the United States since its organization in the spring of 1960, a few months after the bearded dictator seized control of Cuba. Lee Harvey Oswald, accused assassin of President Kennedy, was head of the New Orleans chapter of this group.

The U.S. Communist Party, of course, did not remain idle. It did just what we would expect it to do. Within a few days it, too, had issued an official statement on the Cuban disaster. Havana Radio played up the statement in an October 23 broadcast. The full text of it was published in the party's newspaper, the Worker, of October 27. The statement read in part as follows:

We call upon the members and friends to be in the forefront of this activity [the collection of relief for Cuba] and to spur their organizations for the collection of urgently needed aid.

It ended with these words:

We call upon each and every Communist to look upon the mobilization for immediate disaster aid to Cuba as a sacred duty in the cause of common humanity as well as an act of solidarity binding all those sharing a common ideal.

Significantly, this official Communist Party statement pointed out that "a number of people's organizations are already moving to collect funds, food, clothing, and urgently needed medicines."

"People's organizations," in Communist parlance, means Communist front or fellow traveling groups.

The issue of the Worker which carried the full text of the above statement also featured an article about the formation of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba—and noted that contributions were to be made payable to Dr. Miller at his New York City post office box.

No Communist or fellow traveler who reads the Worker could fail to get the message. Havana radio summarized the Communist Party statement in these words:

The communique also asks all members and Communist Party sympathizers to head movements of aid for Cuba. \* \* \* The communique concludes by asking each North American Communist to consider an immediate mobilization to help the people affected by the disaster \* \* \* as an act of solidarity which is binding on all those who share a common ideal.

The Communist Party fully understood the political move Castro was making in rejecting the American Red Cross offer of help. It knew that Communist front aid to Cuba was only a secondary aim and that breaking the blockade was the major one. The statement therefore made this point:

Today when the heroic people of Cuba, under the leadership of Premier Fidel Castro, are undergoing such untold hardships, it

must become the immediate duty of every decent American to demand that the criminal blockade be lifted forthwith in order to allow the fullest expression of solidarity and humanity by the people of our country to the people of Cuba.

There must be renewed and concerted effort on the part of all peace-loving and democratic-minded Americans to demand that the Kennedy administration put an end to the present Cuba policy and embark upon a new policy of peace and friendship and normal trade and diplomatic relations. This is essential in the interests of our own people as well as Cuban people and for world peace.

The Worker followed this up with an editorial in the issue of October 29 demanding an end to the embargo and calling on its readers to write letters to the President and the State Department urging such action.

Meanwhile what was the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba doing? By November 1, it had an office and printed stationery on which, under that date, it mailed out a second appeal for contributions. This letter was signed by Gluck as chairman of the new organization, Elizabeth Sutherland as treasurer, and Dr. Miller as medical director, checks to be made payable to him.

Various Communist groups in the United States which, despite their ideological differences, have been united in their support of Castro, went to work on behalf of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba. Favorable items about the formation of the group and its activities appeared not only in the Worker, its west coast counterpart, the People's World, and the National Guardian, but also in the Militant, official organ of the Trotskyists, and the Workers World, the publication of another Communist splinter group.

The Communist Party's monthly magazine, New World Review, in its issue of December 1963, told its readers that they should support the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba and called for an end to the "inhuman embargo whereby our Government seeks to strangle Socialist Cuba."

The committee was also helping itself. It had sufficient funds to place a half-page ad in the National Guardian of November 7 and to pay for a full-page, back cover ad in the November 30 issue of the Nation magazine. The Washington Post ad of December 16, which cost approximately \$800, was apparently the high point in its advertising campaign.

I believe the facts make it uncontestedly clear that the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba is a Communist agency—Communist in its inspiration, Communist in its operation, Communist in its aims.

Contrary to its claim in the Washington Post ad, it is not carrying out "a humanitarian, nonpolitical mission." The ad was a fraud and a hoax. The committee is designed to exploit the suffering of the Cuban people in order to play on the generosity and gullibility of non-Communist Americans to aid Castro and Khrushchev in their efforts to break the U.S. embargo on Cuba, to undermine this country's overall policy toward Cuba, to strengthen Castro, and thus to aid



Communist subversion throughout Latin America. Its purposes, to put it bluntly, are primarily anti-United States.

Even as this committee and other Communist organizations throughout the world are pleading for funds to help the Cuban people, Castro is attempting to round up 500 Americans who will defy their Government by visiting Cuba this summer—with all expenses paid by his Red regime. This will cost hundreds of thousands of dollars—a sum which would pay for extensive relief for the Cuban people if Castro were at all interested in their welfare.

But, no, Castro is not concerned with the welfare of his slaves. He wants only the expansion of Communist power. And, unfortunately, there are people in this country who are all too ready to help him—and there are newspapers which, for the money, will assist Communist operations of this type.

Some people wonder about how Communist fronts get started, how they function, the disguises they use to conceal their true purposes—and what those purposes are. The facts about the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba go far toward answering all questions of this type. This organization is one that no American loyal to his country and the principles on which it is founded would touch with a 10-foot pole.

#### PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THREAT TO CANAL ZONE

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, President Lyndon Johnson issued the following statement this morning at 12:30 a.m. after a 2½-hour conference on the Panama crisis:

The United States tries to live by the policy of the good neighbor and expects others to do the same.

The United States cannot allow the security of the Panama Canal to be imperiled. We have a recognized obligation to operate the Canal efficiently and securely, and we intend to honor that obligation in the interest of all who depend on it.

The United States continues to believe that when order is fully restored, it should be possible to have direct and candid discussions between the two governments.

I commend President Johnson for his strong and reassuring statement.

Over the years the American people have been gravely concerned about Communist agitation, mob violence, and disorder all aimed at American ownership of the Panama Canal. Communist agents, subversives, and saboteurs from Red Cuba, Russia, and China are constantly at work to undermine U.S. sovereignty over the Canal.

I joined the distinguished and able gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] and the distinguished and able gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Selden] and others in opposing the flying of the Panamanian flag over the Canal Zone beside the U.S. flag. We knew then that U.S. acquiescence to this demand would lead to further demands and eventually would lead to a demand that the United States withdraw from the Canal Zone

entirely, placing the Canal under international control or under Panamanian control. It is now imperative that we make no further concessions to Communist inspired mob violence and the wild demands and ridiculous charges in Havana, Peiping, and Moscow.

Mr. Speaker, I again commend President Johnson for assigning to the Panama crisis the proper priority and for immediately realizing the grave threat to the security of the Canal Zone and thus the security of the United States and the Western World.

#### CORRECTION OF VOTE

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 228 I am recorded as not voting. I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### CORRECTION OF VOTE

Mr. MONTROYA. Mr. Speaker, previously I made a request with respect to correcting what I thought should be rollcall No. 247. Actually, the request should have related to rollcall No. 248.

On rollcall No. 248 I am recorded as not voting. I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Mexico?

There was no objection.

#### THEIR PRESCRIPTION: INTEGRATION—U.S. NURSES ASKED FOR "QUIET, PLEASE"

(Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON (at the request of Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin) was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the Record, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, as you know, my interest in nursing goes over many, many years, and I have been particularly interested in the very effective and quiet way in which the Negro nurses have been taken into the American Nurses Association.

The Association for Colored Graduate Nurses was the first group to amalgamate with another organization. This was due very largely to the consecrated work of Estelle Riddle and Mable Keaton Staupers. To my mind, there is no group in this country who make better nurses than our colored people. They seem to have an intuitive capacity for it. Now that it is possible for them to get the best training there is, they are able to project themselves into the work with their minds and their hands trained—their hearts already working for the best for the patient.

The Washington Post on January 5, published a very interesting article about Mrs. Staupers and her work. I have taken the liberty to edit it a little

that it may not be too long, but I feel sure that all House Members will want to know what is in this interesting article:

#### U.S. NURSES ASKED FOR "QUIET, PLEASE"

(By Louise Durbin)

"Integration in the nursing profession? We did it quietly. The nursing leaders thought the quiet way was the best way." It was Mabel Keaton Staupers, former president of the National Association for Colored Graduate Nurses which merged with the American Nurses' Association, talking in her Washington home.

Though she undertook it quietly, the sprightly, 73-year-old Mrs. Staupers thoroughly accomplished her purpose and achieved equality for members of her profession.

Today, the State nurses' associations in every one of the 50 States are integrated—Georgia was the last to lower the barrier in 1962.

The American Nursing Association itself is a smoothly operating and integrated organization that has a full-time department devoted to intergroup relations.

More and more Negro nursing schools are closing their doors as qualified Negro students are attending integrated schools of nursing.

All six District of Columbia schools of nursing—Capital City at D.C. General Hospital, Catholic University of America, Freedmen's Hospital, Georgetown University, Lucy Webb Hayes at Sibley Memorial Hospital, and Washington Hospital Center—accept Negro nursing students. The number who enroll is small—as reflected in the 5 Negro girls out of the total 131 students who are seeking to become R.N.'s at Capital City School of Nursing.

Of 178 collegiate nursing programs throughout the country, 163 had accepted qualified Negro students by 1961. \* \* \*

Today, several of these 12 colleges already have changed their policies and now admit Negro students. \* \* \*

Negro R.N.'s are accepted as officers in all branches of the Armed Forces.

More and more hospitals are employing Negro nurses as members of the staff in all departments that require R.N.'s. Of the hospitals in the District of Columbia, only Doctors Hospital has not employed Negro registered nurses to date.

Typical of area hospitals is George Washington University Hospital, where 34 of the 174 full time R.N.'s employed on the staff and in administrative positions are Negroes.

But in 1934, when the NACGN opened its office in the same New York building with the other nursing organizations, things were tough, though the ANA had, since its beginnings in 1896, offered membership to all qualified nurses.

"You must remember that at the age and time we started, people definitely believed in segregation," said Mrs. Staupers.

"Frequently I had to send a girl, who came to my office, back to prepare herself before she could even be accepted by a good school of nursing. The dual educational system in Southern States didn't provide adequate high school training. And of course we had to work to get the good nursing schools to accept Negro students."

#### PEOPLE IN HIGH PLACES DID THE FRONT-RUNNING

"How did we get nursing schools and hospitals to accept Negro students and R.N.'s? You can't do it all alone. The most important thing is that you have to get people in high places to understand the problems and do the front-running," explained the remarkable pioneer.

"For years Catholic University didn't accept Negroes though it was the only place in Washington where nurses could take grad-

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uate work. In 1936 we appealed to the Catholic Interracial Council and asked them to change the situation themselves. They did."

Mrs. Staupers recalled another incident: "A Negro who had applied for admission to Yale Graduate School of Nursing was told she would be happier in a Negro school."

"I wrote her and told her nursing at its best was a lot of hard work and the most important thing was to get the best qualifications—you didn't go to nursing school to be happy."

"Then we appealed to a member of the Yale board, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes. He understood the problem. In 1946 the first Negro nurse graduated from a Yale collegiate nursing course."

"One of the greatest champions we ever had is Representative FRANCIS PAXNE BOLTON, Republican, of Ohio. She spearheaded the opening of the Western Reserve University school of nursing—which is named for her—to Negro students in 1945."

The Barbados-born and Harlem-bred Mrs. Staupers recalled other parts of the NACGN nursing history of her time.

"Only four of the some 200 hospitals in the New York metropolitan area employed Negro nurses in 1937—Lincoln, Harlem, Seaview, and Riverside."

"And in the few hospitals in the North where Negro R.N.'s were employed there were subtle ways to differentiate—if a Negro nurse was given a supervisor's job, she wasn't given the title or pay that went with it."

When Mabel Staupers went to bat for the NACGN, she put her appeal for equal pay for Negro nurses to hospital boards strictly on an economic basis.

"We pointed out that a Negro nurse had to pay just as much for her uniform and shoes as a white nurse did," she explained.

"We were trying to win our fight for the nursing profession and policies—to give the best patient care—not just for Negroes. The most precious friends the Negro nurses had, in both the North and South, were the white nurses who took up the fight with us—and for us," she continued.

"When a person is ill, the average patient would never refuse a Negro nurse so long as he knows the hospital is responsible for the nurse's qualifications. Qualifications are all-important," she stressed.

During World War II, a quota of Negro nurses were accepted in the Army—then relegated to serving prisoners of war or segregated Negro troops. The Navy refused to accept Negro nurses.

Then, after endless redtape and talk with generals and admirals, Mrs. Staupers was received in November 1944, by Eleanor Roosevelt, who listened carefully and sympathetically to the problems. By January 1945, the Navy Nurse Corps announced it would accept nurses regardless of race, and, at the same time, discrimination in the Army was on the wane.

The smooth blending of the NACGN into the ANA took place 12 years ago, in 1951, without fanfare or fuss. An intergroup relations department had been set up within the ANA in 1948 so that by the time the NACGN disbanded in 1951, the ANA and its predominantly white membership were well prepared for the merger.

"We dissolved our corporation, and turned our well-being over to the ANA," Mrs. Staupers said simply.

Ironically, it was the Negro girls who had to be prepared for integration when it came.

"We went all over the country urging the girls to join State nurses' associations when they did open their doors to qualified Negro graduate nurses. We told them if they didn't join and participate, we couldn't help them, for we were working for nursing and policies, not just Negroes," she explained.

Today, the nursing profession, represented by the ANA, is proud of the continuing cam-

it has conducted to eliminate discrimination in nursing education and employment.

And the remarkable Mabel Staupers has told her own story, of her tireless, unceasing campaign in her book, "No Time for Prejudice," which was published by the Macmillan Co. in 1961.

### TIME FOR COOL HEADS

(Mr. KEITH (at the request of Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, all of us are well aware that the situation confronting both the United States and Panama is ominous. Now as much as at any other time in the history of our relations, all sensible, diplomatic means should be used to reach an agreement and understanding which will be mutually satisfactory to both the United States and Panama. Our long-term interests and those of Panama are identical and demand the continued and efficient operation of the canal. In this connection, I would like to call an extraordinarily reasonable and farsighted editorial from the Standard Times of New Bedford of January 11, 1964, to the attention of my colleagues.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard Times, Jan. 11, 1964]

### TIME FOR COOL HEADS

It would be a terrible tragedy if hot-headed young Panamanian leftists, and American students who should know better, were allowed to provoke a permanent break between the United States and Panama.

The situation in the Canal Zone is made to order for Fidel Castro. He is only too aware of the undercurrent of illwill against the United States in Panama and he fans the flame at every opportunity, hoping to force Washington to abandon the Canal Zone.

The United States has no intention of getting out. It is in the zone by mutual agreement between the two countries, pays substantial wages to those who operate the canal, and needs the zone as a lifeline between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The United States has been regularly granting new and more generous economic and political concessions to Panama. Last January, this country permitted Panama to claim titular sovereignty over the Canal Zone, and agreed that flags from both countries would fly side by side over 16 designated locations.

The agreement when into full effect January 1, 1964, but American high school students broke it this week when they raised the American flag at a nonauthorized spot in front of Balboa High School despite an appeal from Robert J. Fleming, Jr., U.S. Governor of the zone.

Young Panamanians, spurred on by Fidelistas, then attacked the U.S. Embassy, destroyed American property and fired on U.S. troops who were forced to return the fire. The result: At least 20 dead, about 200 wounded and the most serious disagreement yet between Panama and the United States.

Panamanian President Roberto Chirri has demanded a complete investigation of the flareup by the Organization of American States. The United States should have no objection to a fair and unbiased examination of the situation, and has ordered a full-scale inquiry on its own.

In the meantime, each side would gain by a return to normal operations in the Canal Zone. Anything less would permit Communist agitators to ply their trade and

### ATTORNEYS SOCIALIZE

(Mr. POFF (at the request of Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, an item appeared in the December 20 issue of the Washington Star which may have escaped the attention of some lawmakers and in which, in my judgment, every lawmaker and law practitioner should take an interest. I quote herewith the news article which is datelined Warsaw:

Poland's 5,700 lawyers will be forced into collectives under a measure ending private legal practice in the Communist nation.

The bill was passed last night by Poland's Communist-dominated Parliament with only five opposing votes. Although a client may still select his own attorney, fees will be set by the Government and paid to the lawyers' association. Part of the income will be divided equally among all members of the collective and part in proportion to the work they do.

Sponsors of the bill argued that legal fees were too high for ordinary people.

Mr. Speaker, many lawyers seem unconcerned about the fact that some people in America would like to see the medical profession socialized. Because they are not personally and immediately concerned, they have closed their eyes and ears to the threat. Lawyers would do well to come to the aid of their sister profession. Who can say that the next proposal might not be "Legal Aid to the Aged," and next "Medical and Legal Aid for Everybody."

### MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENS FOR PRAYER

(Mr. BECKER (at the request of Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith "A Challenge to American Democracy," by the Massachusetts Citizens for Prayer in Public Schools. This is a bona fide organization of good solid American citizens and I am certain anyone reading this, will be able to decide for themselves just what it is Americans want, and that they do not intend that Almighty God and prayer, be barred from our society, public and otherwise. This organization has been instrumental in calling discharge petition No. 3 to the attention of many of the Members of the House from Massachusetts as well as of other States. I commend this to your attention.

### THE PRAYER AMENDMENT: A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Once upon a time there was a country, a democracy, which had a Congress of several hundred Members. When the highest Court in that country banned prayer and Bible reading from its public schools, nearly 150 Congressmen filed proposals to amend the Constitution to return the longstanding practice of such prayer and to forestall further judicial inroads into other cherished instances of public reverence. This was a high percentage. At the same time many, though not all, of the religious leaders of the country denounced the Court's action as setting a dangerous precedent. Besides

*Cuba file*

(Mr. CRAMER (at the request of Mr. SHRIVER) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the . . .

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RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, since last week when the English trade with the Communist Cuba bus deal came to public attention, I demanded the State Department to file a protest with the British and I insisted upon an effective trade ban against Castro's Cuba.

The Citizens' Committee for a Free Cuba has since charged that this deal amounting to \$12.2 million is "the latest in a series of setbacks in U.S. diplomacy."

The committee cites the sale of Canadian wheat to Russia, with a portion set aside for Cuba, "the increasing number of spare parts reaching Cuba for industrial plants and this bus deal as showing the 'porousness' of U.S. policy.

I enclose in the RECORD the full text of the Citizens' Committee for a Free Cuba press release of January 10, 1964, which gives a full review of the bus deal, points out the further implications of the bus deal in that Cuba's transport system was bogged down as the result of effective sabotage on the part of the Cuban people and "the Leyland bus deal goes far in getting him—Castro—off a very serious hook with his own rebellious subjects."

The committee joins in a call I have been making for some time for "greater determination" on the part of the United States in our policy of "isolation" of Cuba.

ENGLISH BUS SALE UNDERMINES CUBAN RESISTANCE

The current sale of 450 Leyland buses by England to Castro, with adequate supplies of spare parts included, is the latest in a series of setbacks in U.S. diplomacy. The deal amounts to \$12.2 million.

The sale of Canadian wheat to Russia, with a portion set aside for Cuba, and the increasing numbers of spare parts reaching Cuba through various unauthorized channels for Castro's desperate industrial plant, underscores the porousness of U.S. policy. Perhaps the most important effect which this porousness has had, and will continue to have unless something drastic is done, will be on the determination of the Cuban people to continue their resistance to Castro's Communist regime.

Perhaps inadvertently, possibly deliberately, the determination of the United States and the free world to maintain and strengthen its economic blockade has been matched by an equal determination of the Cuban people to sabotage the regime out of business. Breakthrough now by Castro in essential transport, represented by the purchase of buses, cannot but have a weakening effect on the future resistance of the Cuban people. It may presage future deals by our own allies, triggered, some lawmakers maintain, by our own Government-sponsored sale of grain to Russia and Iron Curtain countries. Our policymakers who hope and expect the Cuban people to continue their resistance, and Castro effectively undermined, can only see their policy smashed by spare parts, wheat, and other grain deals.

If, over the past several years, our Government had told the story of Cuban resistance to our press and made it a point of policy to relate this resistance to its economic embargo, perhaps the stake of all, including our allies, would be more readily understood. Instead, the embargo has been handled as a part of impersonal economic relationships between nations without regard to human values to which it should have been related.

Here is a partial history of the partially effective U.S. economic blockade on Castro's transportation, the contributions which have been made by the Cuban people themselves:

In 1958 there were 308 urban, interurban, municipal, and provincial bus companies in Cuba which operated 4,459 passenger buses. Many of these companies were run as highly efficient and democratic cooperatives. A large percentage of bus drivers owned their own air-conditioned, modern U.S.-built buses, with automatic transmissions, and Cuba had bus service unequalled anywhere in the Caribbean or Latin America.

Castro and the Communists seized the bus lines and incorporated them into state-run enterprises. In defense of their rights, former owner-drivers who were then impressed into working for the state, set about sabotaging the Government lines. They permitted people to ride free; they "managed" to miss bus stops; drove into groups of Communist demonstrators; and in many cases actually burned their vehicles. Their exploits were documented from 1961 on—in daily accounts in *Revolución* and *Hoy* of arrests and confinement. Of some 3,000 anti-Castroites rounded up and jailed in a tunnel in Principe Prison on April 17, 1961, the fateful day of the landing at the Bay of Pigs, 258 were bus drivers, another 183 were conductors, and still another 102 were taxi drivers. In February of 1963, Minister of Transport, Omar Fernández, publicly denounced Cuba's bus drivers as "the most counterrevolutionary element in our country."

The combination of shortage of parts and sabotage reduced the number of buses operating in Havana from 1,400 in 1958 to fewer than 800 in 1963. These figures were supplied by *Hoy* itself on March 27, 1963. Of the 800 left in service, the bulk of them were of Czech make, with manual transmissions, no air conditioning, and no safety glass or storage facilities for baggage. Ill adapted to Cuba's terrain and weather, the Czech buses constantly broke down and were easy targets for the sabotage visited upon them by their drivers, maintenance men, and conductors. Passengers slashed the seats and broke the doors.

The breakdown in transport also made it difficult for factory and office managers to determine whether absenteeism which was plaguing the regime was deliberate or was due to the breakdown in public transportation, as the confusion in industry mounted. The regime desperately tried to overcome the critical situation by impressing domestic servants into learning to drive confiscated private automobiles and assigning them to routes as "popular transport." This merely increased the traffic hazards. By the time of the sale of British Leyland buses, the Castro regime was reduced to using Soviet military trucks, equipped with makeshift benches and a small ladder extending down from the tailgate.

Last May, Omar Fernández excoriated Cuba's taxi drivers who, like their colleague bus driver-owners, had been deprived of their autonomy and virtually of a livelihood. Speaking at the National Congress of Taxi Drivers, he charged that their ranks are "filled with negative elements, bums, and delinquents." He threatened that those "who do not stop to pick up passengers will be severely punished." Describing their attitude as "one of anarchy," Fernández called for tighter controls. Just prior to his outburst, in March of 1963, nine cab drivers were put on trial for "displaying an uncooperative attitude and a failure to maintain revolutionary vigilance during the night hours." The implication was that they either were working against the regime as members of the resistance or had refused to become informers for the Communists. In an editorial last May 18, *Hoy* accused bus drivers of "running their buses on the curbs without regard for their tires."

Last August 27, the Department of Public Order (the secret police) issued an order which set up "popular tribunals to judge those workers in the field of public transportation for their infractions." Those found guilty were sent to the concentration camp of Guanahacabibes in Pinar del Rio Province. "Popular tribunals" also were empowered to determine, among the public transport drivers, those who "drove crazily and without regard for the equipment." A militiaman was assigned to each eight drivers to "watch their attitudes." In September, Cuban workers were required to fill out forms indicating the types of transportation used, the names of the drivers, and "observations."

Cuba's railways—also administered by the Ministry of Transport—have been struck as well by sabotage. From December 28 of 1962 through the middle of February of 1963, Cuban saboteurs caused three major train wrecks. They occurred in Las Villas, Matanzas, and Pinar del Rio Provinces.

Workers at sugar mills did their share, as well. In checking the falling sugar production INRA headquarters "noted" the extraordinary number of accidents, with locomotives. Sugar Central Josefitia in Havana province radioed that it had only one locomotive in operation. "The other," said the radio operator, "had been derailed." INRA headquarters asked for a full explanation and dispatched an inspector to the mill to investigate, stating that "there is not an extra locomotive in all of Cuba."

In a 3-week period from the end of February to the middle of March, a rash of reports sent to INRA in Havana told of locomotives being derailed at sugar mills. Sugar Central Mercedes in Matanzas Province reported on February 27 that "a train had been derailed while transporting cane to the mill."

On March 9, the Cuban Government revealed that another train wreck had taken place near Ciego de Avila, Camaguey province. The engineer of one of the trains and several others were killed in the crash. The Government announced that the balance of the train crews "have been detained by agents of public order."

In February, the radio operator of the provincial delegation of sugar mills for Camaguey radioed Havana that "the people most against us are those at the sugar mill of San Francisco." On March 20, the head of the sugar mills for the province stated that "anti-Government groups spread the rails of the lines at the sugar mill of San Francisco, causing the derailment of two trains."

The inability of Omar Fernández to stem the tide of sabotage led, just last month, to his being ousted and replaced by Faure Chomon. Yet, last Wednesday, January 8, Havana's Radio Progreso revealed that train wrecks were still continuing, and were the result of sabotage:

"An important meeting was held at the Cuban-Spanish (Communist) Friendship Society by the railway workers where agreements of the National Railway Council were approved.

"With respect to the train wrecks, it was agreed to ask the State Railway Enterprise and the Ministry of Transport to punish those responsible. [They] should be punished uniformly and inflexibly with a 1-year's suspension of work without pay or enjoyment of any benefits of labor legislation. After the year of suspension, they should spend another year earning a lower salary at lower position than before. In the case of being implicated in a train wreck, those responsible should be taken before the State Railway Enterprise, the labor union, and before the courts."

The announcement also admitted to the disappearance of essential property: "To combat theft, the State Railway Enterprise and the union will both support action against the thief, including his final and

complete punishment and indictment before the courts."

The calumny heaped upon bus and taxi drivers extended to porters: "It was also agreed to suspend and punish those porters who refuse to load baggage."

An effort to do away with taxi drivers was contained in the resolution to "study the advisability of using the 'popular transport' to drive passengers and so put an end to the abuses of some taxi drivers and auto owners."

It is clear that the Castro regime itself relates the breakdown of Cuba's transport system to effective sabotage on the part of the Cuban people. The Leyland bus deal goes far in getting him off a very serious hook with his own rebellious subjects. If we or our allies sell Castro planes for his airlines, trains for "interprovincial travel," and taxis to be driven by militants of the Communist Party, which he said he was determined to purchase abroad, our policy of "isolation" will have been turned into a major disaster. Our Cuba policy, which has been under bipartisan fire, will have collapsed entirely. From all indications it would appear that this growing trend must not only be stopped, but rolled back with a greater determination than has yet been displayed.

#### KENTUCKY'S RETURN TO THE MAJOR LEAGUES

(Mr. CHELF (at the request of Mr. ROGERS of Colorado) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in over 60 years Kentuckians have an opportunity to secure a major league baseball club. The city of Louisville has always been a splendid baseball town. She was a member of the National League as far back as 1876, and had a franchise with them from 1892 to 1899, at a time when Louisville's present baseball critics were unborn, unknown, and undiapered.

Ever since I was a small child I can recall the accomplishments of our Louisville "Colonels." It hasn't been but a few years ago when it became apparent that our minor league Louisville team had run into financial difficulty and it was most heartwarming, refreshing and stimulating to witness the eager and voluntary support of Kentuckians as they rallied 'round the Louisville ball club by purchasing enough stock to bail the team out. If Kentuckians would do this for a "triple A" club I submit that they would overwhelmingly support Charles O. Finley's major league team.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I was just a kid in the old Louisville Masonic Widows and Orphans Home when I first heard "grownup's" talk about traveling to such cities as Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, and others in order to see a major league ball game. Mr. Speaker, this practice has been standard operating procedure in Kentucky far too long. We deserve a major league ball club. We can, and I sincerely believe, we will be able to support it.

Our State, county, and city officials have joined with all of us who have the honor to represent our Commonwealth in the Nation's Capitol—irrespective of party affiliation—in order to make this transition of the Athletics possible. Not

only is Kentucky's officialdom united; but what's more important, the vast majority of Kentucky's over 3 million people are likewise behind this move.

Mr. Speaker, no more than I had learned that our energetic Mayor William Cowger of Louisville and our fine young Kentucky Governor, "Ned" Breathitt, had caused to be signed a contract with that courageous Charles O. Finley, sole owner of the Athletics, in which the State of Kentucky had agreed to spend over a half-million dollars increasing the seating capacity in the stadium of the Kentucky State Fairgrounds from 20,000 to over 30,000 and had agreed on terms for the 1964-65 seasons, than I heard that the other baseball clubs in the American League were opposed to this very legitimate contract that had been entered into by and between the sovereign State of Kentucky and the complete owner of a very legitimate business enterprise.

Mr. Speaker, this situation brings rise to the very practical question as to just who owns the Kansas City Athletics franchise—the man who put his money on the line at the time he purchased it or these self-appointed and self-anointed representatives of the various clubs of the American League?

Mr. Speaker, when these interested parties possessing possibly several shares of stock in an incorporated club—these "glass door fronts"—not a sole owner of a ball club—such as Finley—take on their holier-than-thou, go-thither look—their Chess-cat grin, their affidavit expressions, and their funeral mannerisms of "gloom, doom, and tomb," we had better look out because, in my opinion, bad trouble lies ahead for every legitimate business in America. If these baseball clubs are allowed to dominate, control, pressure, and even intimidate a fellow club owner, a horrible precedent is being established contrary to the Constitution and the laws of our land. This is, as I see it, legalized blackmail in that it absolutely forces one—against ones will to do or not to do—or to perform or not to perform an act that may be prejudiced or detrimental to one's self or best interests.

Mr. Speaker, in a letter written to me by the Honorable Ford Frick, baseball's commissioner, dated May 21, 1958, he stated that he was opposed to the then Celler bill, H.R. 10378, on the grounds that:

It would threaten baseball and other sports with endless litigation of every sports rule and agreement.

He went on to say that:

Although baseball is opposed to the Celler bill it is strongly in favor of legislation which will give fair treatment to all four organized team sports by declaring a clean-cut exemption of their sports practices from the anti-trust laws.

So, Mr. Speaker, baseball knows when it has a good thing, and I do not believe that she will make a move that will jeopardize her rather unique and cloistered position.

Mr. Speaker, if the time ever comes—God forbid!—in America that a bona fide, absolute, sole owner of any type or form of business cannot sell, transfer, convey,

loan, hypothecate or in any other manner trade, barter or even give his interests away without a group threatening or coercing him, that is the day that there should be introduced before my committee, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, appropriate and remedial legislation, not only to insure justice with respect toward property rights but an accompanying resolution that would seek to inquire into this whole blasted mess of baseball.

If major league baseball is to enjoy its present immunity, its status of isolationism, its inner sanctum, its holy of holies of preferential treatment; if baseball seeks to continue to be over, above and away from the worry pangs of antimonopoly and its legal application, then her leaders, such as Mr. Joe Cronin, president of the American League, and the Honorable Ford Frick, baseball high commissioner, should wake up, come down off of their cloud No. 14, get their feet on the ground, take a good, long breath of fresh air, get in the amen corner, adopt a new kind of baseball religion, acquire a new code of baseball rules and ethics or they are headed for a fall like mother's bread when her oven door slams.

Mr. Speaker, when it became known that Finley had signed a contract with Kentucky to transfer his ball club there—listen to this written order by Mr. Joe Cronin, American League president, to Charles O. Finley. Among other things, he said:

I therefore, as president of the American League, direct you to refrain from any further arrangements and await the determination of the American League concerning the matter.

This is a form of a threat.

Mr. Speaker, boiled down to simple, plain, unadulterated, foothills of Kentucky language, this is not a fight between the cities of Kansas City and Louisville. It is far more fundamental and basic than that. I agree with Shirley Povich, that great sportswriter for the Washington Post, when he said:

Will a club owner be ousted from the league for the first time in history if he challenges the league's right to make him conform?

And how would they make him conform? Naturally by pressure and other illegal means.

Mr. Speaker, I can understand why an individual might be blackballed from his acceptance into a lodge, but I must confess that I am at a loss to understand why a group of men representing other American League clubs are permitted to threaten, intimidate or in any other manner, push, shove or force a bona fide, sole club owner, literally out of business when it is known that such action will produce hardship, financial loss, and even the destruction of his very own "civil rights." If we are to have a civil rights bill, maybe baseball ownership rights ought to be made a part of that list.

#### PAUL ROBESON RETURNS FROM SELF-EXILE

(Mr. WAGGONER (at the request of Mr. ROGERS of Colorado) was given per-



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self from the garage and basement below and does not mean, as the word might imply, that the Center will be an empty shell.

But even though the Center will be complete with seats and lights and chandeliers and drinking fountains, it will still, in a sense, be an empty shell until it comes alive as a showplace of American culture.

This perhaps, will be the Trustees' most difficult task—one that has probably been complicated at least a little by the large Federal contribution that has now been promised.

Although it is planned that the Center will be self-supporting and that there will be no need for annual Federal appropriations, it would be naive not to assume that at least some Members of Congress would take a lively interest in what goes on at the Kennedy Center.

## PRESSURE FEARED

Representative LINDSAY, Republican, of New York, raised this question briefly during House debate on the bill last week and asked if the Center would not be subject to the same pressures as the cultural exchange program.

Representative SCHWENGEL, Republican, of Iowa, said he looked forward to hearing the music of Meredith Willson played at the Center. Certainly, no member of the Center's Trustees can look forward to explaining to any Member of Congress why he can't hear the music he likes or see the drama of his State at the Kennedy Center.

As the Nation's first living memorial to a President, the Kennedy Center undoubtedly will arouse questions of what is appropriate in a Presidential memorial. The Bolshoi Ballet might well perform at a national cultural center, but someone is sure to ask if Russian Communists should perform in a center erected to the memory of an assassinated President.

Tomorrow the Center's Trustees will hold their annual organizational meeting at 2 p.m. at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., followed by a meeting with the Center's Advisory Board at the State Department.

Mr. Stevens said he expected the meetings to be routine, but it was apparent that he and his colleagues had already begun to grapple with the problems that lie in the next 2½ years of construction and beyond.

### COMMUNIST DOMINATION IS THE "AMERICAN ROADBLOCK"

(Mr. DERWINSKI (at the request of Mr. SHRIVER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the fanfare of the New Year and the President's state of the Union message have not brushed away the cold facts of life—that our foreign policy throughout the world, and especially in Latin America continues to deteriorate.

We are somewhat diverted at the present time by the crisis in Panama but we must realize that the Communist domination of Cuba is the basic roadblock to peace and advancement in Latin America.

The Miami Herald, in a very kindly editorial, discusses our Cuban foreign policy, which as I have emphasized, is at the root of our complications.

## OUR CUBAN POLICY GOES UNDER

Angry as we may be over Britain's deal to sell Fidel Castro buses under favorable long-term credits, the development has some sobering implications for our decisionmakers in Washington.

The United Kingdom, our closest ally, is betting not only the Castro will still be running Cuba 5 years from now but that the country will be fiscally sound with a surplus to pay off debts.

It is hard to imagine a more devastating critique of our policy in relation to Communist subversion next door.

The blow is compounded by the fact that West Germany, France, Japan, and Spain competed with Britain for the privilege of balling Castro out of his transportation morass.

Our policy of toppling Cuban communism by economic containment is sunk without a trace.

Willingness of the British to deal with the enemy of all democratic governments in the Americas—and tossing it off as routine—should not be too surprising. England, as Ed Lahey put it in the Herald yesterday, has been known to rise above principle when a quick dollar was to be earned.

We must admit also that our containment tactic was never firm and sure handed. It was full of leaks. We never really cracked down, as we said we would, on Allied ships bearing goods to Castro.

If the economic blockade ever served a purpose, it is ineffective now. Castro has proven he can get what he wants from free nations while the Soviet Union pumps in arms.

So what now?

There are signs that President Johnson is moving to reassess the Cuban situation and strengthen the team to deal with it. The OAS has matters pending that could lead to an inter-American blockade, one that could be made to stick.

The restless exiles might be unleashed to help fight for their country's redemption. The vast internal unrest in Cuba could be exploited rather than damped down.

The British, in their business-as-usual ardor, may have done the free Americans a service by making the situation and the need for action clear.

As we said long ago when the strength of the Communist thrust became apparent, halfway measures will not do the job that inevitably must be done to return Cuba to the Cuban people. We might as well get to it.

Mr. Speaker, the proper reemphasis of the problems caused by Cuba is further seen in an editorial in the Thursday, January 9, edition of the Chicago Tribune, emphasizing the same problem of nations trading and maintaining the economy of Castro's Cuba.

The inability to isolate and crush the Castro economy is dramatized by the Johnson administration's insistence to subsidize and aid the economy of the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. The self-defeating purpose of this foreign policy is clearer than ever.

## WHO'S ISOLATING WHOM?

Fidel Castro has once again thumbed his nose at our economic blockade, this time with help from Britain. He has arranged to buy at least 400 British buses to replace American buses which have been disabled by the lack of spare parts. These buses will help Castro restore Havana's crippled transportation system and thus mollify one of the more persistent of his people's many complaints.

This is the latest of a number of deals Castro has made with our allies which are thwarting our policy of trying to isolate Castro and thus bring about his downfall. Yet the State Department's only comment is that it is "unhappy."

There is no ground for formal complaint, because Britain has never agreed to help us isolate Castro. In response to our many pleas

for help, Britain has merely promised to exert "vigilance" in preventing further kidnappings by Castro in the West Indies.

Our other allies have been likewise unmoved. Canada listened politely to our request for cooperation, and responded by selling a large supply of wheat to Castro. Spain expressed doubt that our blockade would be effective, and then proceeded to confirm its own doubts by buying \$80 million worth of Cuban sugar in exchange for Spanish machinery and fruit. The French Government replied sanctimoniously that what French exporters arranged with Cuba was none of its business.

Foreign trade with Cuba has, in fact, provided employment for the nearly 200 foreign ships—most of them British, Greek, or Lebanese—which have been caught trafficking with Cuba and have been banned, under the decree of President Kennedy, from carrying cargoes financed by the U.S. Government.

Thus the uselessness of our present policy has been compounded.

We have added to the inconsistency of our position by agreeing to sell American wheat to Russia and thus conceding, in effect, that there is no point in penalizing American farmers and exporters by restrictions which nobody else recognizes.

We don't know how Castro is going to pay for the British buses, but there is little the State Department could say even if it should turn out that Britain is giving him credit. After all, the administration has insisted that we give credit to Russia for the purchase of wheat.

There is no rhyme or reason in a policy which must necessarily depend on the cooperation of allies whom we obviously can't control. If we cannot isolate Cuba ourselves, there is no point in trying.

Let us hope that the light of reason will dawn upon the White House and the State Department, and an immediate reversal of our tragic foreign policy will be promulgated.

### PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO CORRECT INEQUITIES IN OUR MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICIES

THE SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing more important in the business of legislation than to make certain that inequities in our monetary and fiscal policies be eliminated. Special favors for the fortuitous few—for the financially powerful—at the expense of the many, make for trouble whether in Latin America or in the United States of America.

I wish to call to the attention of the Congress an iniquitous absurdity in regard to the special treatment we afford a large section of our banking institutions. We are indebted to the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee for compiling and releasing for your consideration and that of the general public a volume entitled "Banks Holding Treasury Tax and Loan Account Balances as of October 15, 1963." Upon request, Members of Congress or their constituents through their Congressman may receive this report. It

contains a list prepared at my request by the Federal Reserve of the private commercial banks—11,700 of them—which are this very minute receiving a subsidy that in my opinion gives the lie to the old saw that you can't get something for nothing.

The banking system of the United States of America at this time is strong and powerful. Banks from one end of the country to the other are highly profitable. They can afford to pay their way. Any subsidy to them is wasteful. Any subsidy to them is paid for by the American taxpayer.

It is indeed ironic that one gentleman I know who has gone around the country decrying subsidies is the president of a bank in Wilmington, Del., which receives in effect a Government subsidy of at least \$400,000 annually. This money accrues to the bank since it had on deposit as of October 15, 1963, more than \$8 million of Federal money, a figure that was exceeded during most of the year. As a matter of fact, in early October the bank had over \$17 million of Federal money on deposit. His bank pays Uncle Sam not 1 cent for this money, but it is loaned out to the citizens of Wilmington and the State of Delaware at the going interest rate for commercial banks.

You know that I am talking about Ed Neilan, president of the Bank of Delaware. He is in the tradition of the old sage who was lecturing on the virtues of honesty with the stolen goose up his sleeve. His great crusade against you, the Representatives of the people—against several hundred local chambers of commerce, part of a national organization he purports to head; against businessmen in general; against any progressive measures for the betterment of our country, such as ARA; and yes, against subsidies—alas, this crusade is just as phony as I said it was before you gentlemen some time ago. And how do I know? Has Ed Neilan cried out against the subsidy to his bank, accruing from the more than \$8 million of Uncle Sam's money on deposit for which he pays not 1 penny of interest? Has Ed Neilan come to the support of the extremely astute and capable Joseph Campbell, Comptroller General of the United States who, according to the Wall Street Journal on December 31, 1963, urged that banks be charged for the use of Federal deposits? The General Accounting Office, a Federal "watchdog" agency, suggests that Congress require large banks to pay for the use of Government funds kept on deposit with them.

Where, oh where, has the scrooge of Wilmington been in failing to decry the great giveaway to American banks in the form of billions of Federal funds on deposit free for nothing? Mr. Neilan wants no Federal subsidies going to depressed areas for projects that will put men back to work. No, he says area redevelopment is bad for the country, it is destructive of private initiative, it just saps the soul of a free nation. But a subsidy to the Bank of Delaware that costs not a penny to Ed Neilan nor to his directors, including a few Dupont stooges, he says that is as it should be. According to Mr. Nei-

lan, the bank renders services which would cost the Government a lot of money, and today the bank does this out of the goodness of its heart.

Incidentally, I do not want the Bank of Delaware or any other bank rendering any service to the Government of the United States without being adequately paid for that service. Most emphatically I favor a service charge for any service rendered to the Government by the banks. I want to see a fair ratio between a reasonable profit made by banks on Government deposits and actual work done for the Government by the banks. I do not want a bankers' bonanza as now exists.

But now to return to the subcommittee report I mentioned a moment ago regarding banks holding Treasury tax and loan account balances. What do we mean by a tax and loan account? This is simply U.S. Government money that sits in private commercial banks. The banks earn interest on it but not the Treasury of the United States. The total amount of such money in private banks as of mid-October was \$4,040 million. Now how did it get there? Several ways. First, when a bank buys Government securities, whether for its customers or its own account, the Treasury may permit the bank to pay for the securities without turning the money into the Treasury or the Federal Reserve. Instead, the bank opens an account in the name of the U.S. Treasury and puts the money into that. In this manner the bank gets to keep the money which is earmarked for the Government, and waits for the Treasury to call it into the Federal Reserve. In the meantime, the bank gets interest on the securities which it did not pay for, but got by creating the deposit that bears no interest. These same securities could have been sold to the Federal Reserve and it would not have cost the people interest.

A second source of funds in the tax and loan account is income tax payments—not the big, single payment you make at the end of the year that goes straight into the Treasury—but withholding income taxes from payrolls and large quarterly payments made by corporations. This gives rise to probably the most ludicrous situation in the whole relationship between banks and the Treasury. Here the Treasury deposits tax collections in commercial banks and the Government receives nothing for them. This same money can be used by the banks to purchase Government securities on which the Treasury pays interest. Who benefits from this nonsensical situation? Only the commercial banks. Who pays the bill? The poor taxpayer.

Other sources of tax and loan account funds include railroad retirement taxes, payroll taxes from the old age insurance program, and certain excise taxes. All of this money is available for the unrestricted use of the banks until it is later called into the Federal Reserve system. It all earns interest, but not a penny of interest goes back to the Government. The Federal money on deposit is not a convenience to the Treasury. The Treasury does not draw checks on it. The Treasury, I repeat, cannot use it until

it is called into the Federal Reserve banks.

Whenever the Treasury balance of working cash, which is kept in the Federal Reserve banks, gets too low, then they call in tax and loan money, but since it is always coming into the banks as fast as it is going out to the Treasury, even faster, the banks know that they have a juicy subsidy in the form of free money from Uncle Sam. That is, deposits which cost them nothing, but which can be loaned to the public.

During the fiscal year 1963, there was never any less than \$2 billion sitting there. Sometimes, on the other hand, there has been over \$10 billion, and the average for fiscal year 1963 was \$5.3 billion. The interest for 1 year on \$5.3 billion at 5 percent is \$267 million. Do I hear Mr. Ed Neilan screaming about the \$267 million annual subsidy to himself and his friends? Will someone who listens to his next "never-never" speech on the wickedness of subsidies be good enough to ask him why he has not been opposed to the big bankers bonus?

Now there are 13,500 commercial banks in America, and 11,700 of these are official depositories for tax and loan account funds. The average amount of Government money on deposit with each bank is something over \$345,000, and the average annual interest on this amount at 5 percent is about \$23,000. Some banks have much more than the average. The Bank of Delaware holds over \$8 million in Federal money, which is 23 times the average, and the more than \$400,000 a year interest this bank earns on this money is 23 times the average.

Eight banks in New York City—Chase Manhattan, First National City, Chemical Bank, Morgan Bank, Manufacturers Hanover, Bankers Trust, Irving Trust, and Marine Midland—have over \$800 million combined, or more than 20 percent. That is, 8 banks out of 11,700 that have one-fifth of all the money in the tax and loan account.

In the main, I have discussed but one key subsidy that the Government presents commercial banks. There are several others besides the tax and loan account.

Now let us consider for a moment another special treatment afforded our commercial banks. It is a simple fact that banks are not permitted to pay interest on demand deposits. Now everybody else pays interest on their deposits, savings and loan, and even insurance companies, but not the commercial banks. These demand deposits are raw materials, just like pig iron, that represent \$150 billion on which banks are earning interest which they are not paying to the depositors. Checking accounts are demand deposits. It is lawful for a bank to lend money to the holder of a checking account and, of course, charge him interest. But the banker would be violating the law if he were to pay interest on this checking account money which he in turn loans out. Some time or other this inequitable arrangement will be changed.

Then there are many free services provided to private banks by the Federal Reserve at an annual cost to the Ameri-

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# ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TUESDAY

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## DECENTRALIZATION OF FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I rise courteously and respectfully to express some differences of opinion which I have with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDBWATER] over certain foreign policy issues about which he has expressed views in recent days.

I have sent a copy of my remarks to the Senator from Arizona, and I have had a brief and pleasant visit with him, telling him that I would be happy to have him come to the floor of the Senate if he cared to do so. He very good-naturedly told me that it would not be necessary to do that, and that if he deemed it necessary, in due course he would express himself on the floor of the Senate. He told me that he was about to leave his office to make a donation of blood. I assured him that I was not going to deplete him of his blood supply and that I was merely going to express some respectful disagreement with his point of view. I would discuss my disagreement with the Senator from Arizona on foreign policy under the heading—which I think would be quite appropriate—"The Decentralization of Foreign Policy." I do so this afternoon because I would not want anyone to think that in my capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations I would remain silent when anyone of the importance and the standing of the junior Senator from Arizona expressed views on the Cuban situation so diametrically opposed to my own.

On the basis of his recent campaign statements in New Hampshire, the junior Senator from Arizona appears to be offering himself as a presidential candidate who will lead the United States into international banditry. That is the best that can be said for his statement that if he were President, he would support and promote the efforts of Cuban refugees to invade Cuba and overthrow the Castro dictatorship. "I would help them," said the Senator, "I would train them, supply them, get them there." In addition, he would be "inclined" to provide air cover to any refugee invasion attempt.

The Senator's proposal for Cuba is apparently part of his grand design for dismantling the foreign policy powers of the Government of the United States. As the Members of this body have been privileged to hear many times, the Senator from Arizona is deeply dedicated to the task of liberating the Cuban people from the Castro tyranny. He believes that Castro communism is a grave and immediate threat to the United States and that every day of its survival is a day of mortal peril for the United States.

Because the Senator is known to hold these views, it is difficult to understand why he does not favor direct action by the U.S. Armed Forces rather than a proxy invasion by a small army of badly armed, badly trained, and badly organized Cuban refugees.

Furthermore, speaking hypothetically, has he given consideration to the kind of government that would be established in Cuba if all the Cuban refugees in the United States could simply be implanted in Cuba and authorized to establish a government? I think we would be very much surprised to find how closely such a government would resemble the Batista government. As I have previously said in the Senate, a considerable percentage of the Cuban refugees in the United States are Batista-ites and would not set up, if given the authority to do so, a constitutional, democratic form of government. Large numbers of them are more interested in regaining their corporeal and material holdings in Cuba, to carry on the bad economic policies that characterized the Batista regime. I have the right to speak thusly, because I was the first in this body to speak out against the Castro regime. I did so almost when it took over, starting with its blood baths and Castro's placing under house arrest the first President under the Castro regime, that great Cuban judge, Irrutia, because Irrutia would not be a party to the totalitarian procedures that Castro inflicted upon the Cuban people. I said then, and repeat now, that all we were presented with in that change of administration was the substitution for a Fascist tyrant of a tyrant who followed the Commie line.

To consider Fidel Castro a grave enough threat to the United States to turn America into an outlaw nation is to credit him with vastly greater power and vastly greater leadership talents than in fact he possesses. If, however, he posed a grave and mortal threat to the United States, he should be dealt with by direct action by the Armed Forces of the United States under the command of the President.

In October of 1962, President Kennedy made clear that our Government can be counted upon to take care of any aggressive course of action that either Castro or Khrushchev acting through Cuba may threaten.

One is forced to the conclusion that although the Senator from Arizona feels gravely threatened by the Communist regime in Cuba, he is so anxious to decentralize the powers of the U.S. Government that he would turn over the shaping of our Cuban policy to a group of Cuban exiles and reduce the U.S. Government to the role of adviser and assistant to them in their efforts. This would indeed be a major step forward toward the decentralization of the foreign policy powers of the U.S. Government. The control of American policy over an issue which, as we saw in October of 1962, involves the threat of nuclear war would be taken out of the hands of our President and placed in the hands of a group of private individuals—and foreign individuals at that, not even citizens of the United States. What more could we

hope to accomplish in the decentralization of our foreign policy?

There is another aspect of the Senator's views on Cuba that give me some concern. That is that what he proposes is clearly illegal, a clear and direct violation of our obligations under the Charter of the Organization of American States. I commend to the Senator article 15 of the OAS charter, which clearly prohibits the kind of U.S.-sponsored refugee action that he advocates. Article 15 reads as follows:

No state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed forces but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements.

There are those who regard treaties and other instruments of law as meaningless pedantries, suitable areas of concern for vague and sentimental law professors but hardly a fit basis for the hard decisions of international power politics. I, for one, believe that the United States can play fast and loose with its international legal commitments only at grave peril to its own vital interests. International legal commitments have the same meaning for the shapers of foreign policy as contracts have for businessmen. There is nothing sentimental or particularly idealistic about them. They provide a basis for predicting the actions of others, for being able to judge who is with you and who is against you, whom you can count on and whom you cannot count on. As long as international legal instruments are honored, the parties to them have in effect increased their own power because they can add to their own resources those promised to them by the international agreements. To disregard international legal obligations is to undermine this addition to national power, to destroy the basis for predicting the behavior of others, and to destroy the confidence of other nations in our own promises and commitments.

I am sure that these observations about law, as they pertain to Cuba, will be of interest to the Senator from Arizona. They will interest him because he is a conservative, and if there is anything that is vital to the ideology of conservatism it is the fundamental importance and inviolability of law. The Senator has spoken frequently and wisely about the sanctity of law. I am confident, therefore, that he can be expected to reconsider his views on sponsoring a refugee invasion of Cuba with a view toward trying to reconcile these views with his well-known dedication to the rule of law as a guiding principle for both the internal life of our country and its foreign relations.

If the Senator from Arizona has been somewhat inconsistent in his views on law in international relations, he has been absolutely constant in his advocacy of the principle of decentralization of Government functions.

The Senator declared that under certain circumstances he would withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union, but only with the consent of the Senate.

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The Senate does not, under our Constitution, play any official role whatever in the recognition of governments or in withdrawing recognition. The Senator apparently would like to give the Senate that power, thereby depriving the President of one of his basic foreign policy powers under the Constitution.

Secondly, the Senator has suggested that the authority to use tactical nuclear weapons should be vested in the commander of the NATO forces without being subject to any direction or control by the President of the United States, who, under our Constitution, is the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces.

It appears that the Senator, in his zeal for the decentralization of control of our foreign policy, is prepared to relieve the President of many or most of his powers as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

On issues ranging from the Tennessee Valley Authority to an invasion of Cuba, the Senator has been unshakeable in his dedication to the principle that all possible powers should be removed from the hands of the Government of the United States and placed in the hands of private individuals and groups—either foreign or domestic, the important point being that under no circumstances should they be subject to the control or direction of the U.S. Government.

Winston Churchill once said that he did not become His Majesty's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Should the junior Senator from Arizona be elected President of the United States, it appears that he will dedicate himself to a quite opposite, but no less dramatic, goal than the one proclaimed by Churchill. The Senator will be able, one supposes, to proclaim something like the following:

I have become President of the United States for the sole and express purpose of presiding over the liquidation of the powers and functions of the Government of the United States, and especially of those vested in the President of the United States.

Finally, Mr. President, our colleague's opinion of the reliability of intercontinental missiles might carry more weight had he raised the issue when funds for their installation were under consideration. The Senator from Arizona has been a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee since he came to the Senate in 1952. During his Senate service, the United States has developed and installed a huge system of intercontinental missiles. Congress has voted tens of billions of public money for this purpose.

If the Senator from Arizona had doubts then about their reliability, he should have raised them in the Senate when the appropriation bills were being considered. Instead, he joined the rest of us in approving those funds, so I understand; and I do not find that he made any critical comments about spending these huge sums on them.

If Senator GOLDWATER has a case that manned bombers are more reliable weapons than missiles, he should spell it out. Until he does, he has only created the impression of an old cavalry man who

insists that tanks are not as reliable as horses.

Mr. President, in closing, I repeat that I speak out of great respect for the Senator from Arizona; but he and I have these honest and sincere differences of opinion as to what should be the policy of our Government both in the field of domestic affairs and in the field of foreign affairs; and I have expressed my views accordingly.

#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, recently Mr. O. K. Scott, of Prineville, Oreg., brought to my attention copies of certain letters on subjects of interest. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOVEMBER 6, 1963.

DEAR EDITOR: I would like to make one more desperate appeal to the dormant patriotism of our local citizens. Senator MORSE has at last admitted that the suggestion to utilize some TV time for public education is a good idea, but without good public support from home it is hardly fair to expect any one public official to risk his scalp on a proposition as bold as this. This is something that deserves the initiative of the voters.

The previous series of letters to the editor, has had a noticeable effect on many local citizens, and not a single word of condemnation from any of the many who have been sounded out throughout the Nation. Many have commented favorably, none too enthusiastic, quite a few were silent, but none ventured to say truth is not important.

I expected more letters from voters to their representatives from this locality, most of the ones I have talked to just sort of pass it off as being too lazy in a joking way, but this is no joke. I think your column one arrangement will be much more effective because only a minority look at the editorial page.

I enclose the letter from Senator MORSE for your inspection. Will you please hold it for me? I will call for it later. I also include my reply to the Senator.

As far as I am concerned, the Oregon delegation to Washington is as good as we can ever hope to get and I hope we can keep them on the job, they will respond to the will of the people back home if these people will only let them know what is in their minds. I cannot help but think that the right to see, hear, and learn to know and understand the truth, ranks high in the mind of every true patriot, but they are still under the spell of McCarthy demagoguery. But truth is changeless and indestructible, it can neither be diluted nor dissolved, not even in a full strength solution of GOLDWATER.

Sincerely,

O. K. SCOTT.

NOVEMBER 6, 1963.

To the Editor

Truth is the supreme authority in our universe. Without it, Man is but little better than a devil, and his world can never get much better than a hell. General Sherman was absolutely right. "War is hell," hot or cold. But with the truth, man can become master of his environment, and build a civilization resembling heaven, limited only by the honest application of his knowledge and his willingness to work. The human energy and material wealth that has been wasted on war just since I have been here on earth has been many times more

than enough to have eliminated all the poverty and its twin, ignorance, from the world, but these twin curses still hold the world in thrall.

Every war that man has become involved in, is a harvest from seeds of dishonesty, planted and cultivated by dishonest man. Nothing has ever been settled by any war, that could not have been settled a thousand times better, by truth and honesty. In fact, the only thing ever settled by war is the certainty of a bigger and more terrible dishonest war to follow.

The cause of this disease, "war," is the virus of dishonesty. The only cure is truth. The political palliatives, and what the labor unions are doing, and have been doing, are just as silly and ineffective, as if the medical scientists had confined their attack on polio, to the application of band aids and ice water massages. There are plenty of good honest, intelligent people in this land, who know and understand the truth, and have what it takes to convey that truth and understanding to the minds of all potentially honest citizens, which includes at least 80 percent of the total, but this insignificant minority of wantonly dishonest, has insidiously build up a power sufficiently strong enough to conceal the truth from the overwhelming majority, by the simple expedient of pricing them out of the market, in spite of our constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and press.

Just because one of these lunatics, successfully caused a lot of other lunatics to believe that a lie, repeated often and well, was just as good as the truth, the whole world became involved in the most stupid ogre of death and destruction of all, and the only thing we got out of it was the plague of atomic stalemate, with its potential destructiveness now in excess of a carload of TNT for each human being on earth.

With one hour of TV time each week, made available for truth, the curse of dishonesty could be arrested to the point where truth could at last become effective from a great many more honest patriots than it ever has had. Is four letters each, from each honest patriot too much of an effort? Must we devote all of this marvelous medium of public education to "break down sales resistance" and programs that undermine the character of our young ones? There is no substitute, just as good, or anywhere near as good as truth. It is your business and deserves your attention. None will ever escape the consequences of the neglect that will inevitably lead to some lunatic trying to prove that he can win with atom bombs.

Sincerely,

O. K. SCOTT.

NOVEMBER 13, 1963.

To the Editor:

Truth is the keystone for the arch of liberty, that has been slowly and laboriously constructed by the efforts of honest intellect for centuries, this arch spans the bottomless chasm of greed, graft, and corruption, that has successfully defied orderly progress along the road of liberty toward that distant goal of freedom, that has inspired the best efforts and hopes of honest, intelligent, thinking people.

The keystone is not yet in place, but it has been carefully measured and cut to fit. Without this keystone, the structure can never hold the weight of the traffic that must pass over it. It is an exceedingly bulky item, of such a nature that no possible kind of machine can ever put it in place. The only way it can be done is by the honest, intelligent cooperative efforts of many citizens. The task is simple and the labor light. The more hands that willingly volunteer, the easier the task, and there is no such thing as not enough room for all, who care to help.

Just take a sheet of paper and a pen and write four letters, one of them to the presi-



During the presidential campaigns and throughout his subsequent service in the realm of international affairs, Mr. Stevenson has added a new dimension to the Illinois State motto—that of an active commitment to the cause of a free world at peace. His fellow citizens in Illinois are proud of his devotion and tireless work in behalf of a better America in a world at peace.

Adlai E. Stevenson is the fourth out of five generations to serve the people of his State and of the Nation. Even now, his eldest son and namesake, Adlai E. Stevenson III, is embarked upon a new role as a member of the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois. He is following the example of his illustrious father, and a more outstanding example he and others would be hard put to find.

Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a privilege to speak publicly, on this my first statement in the House, of the unselfish concern for and outstanding participation in public and world service by the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois during the greater part of his 65 years among us.

He, more than many of us, has always been aware that all of us have to be concerned about the future because we are going to spend the rest of our lives there. As he enters his 66th year, he continues to look ahead to and work for a better future for all.

*Cuba file*  
**LEGISLATION INTRODUCED TO  
HALT U.S. ALLIES SHIPPING TO  
CUBA**

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today to curb the traffic of U.S. Allies shipping to Cuba.

Not only have our allies been sending their ships to Castro's island, but ships from Britain, Greece, Lebanon, Norway, and the Netherlands have been supplying communist North Vietnam.

As a member of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, I have long been concerned with the situation whereby U.S. articles are transported aboard vessels sailing under flags participating in trade with communist countries. There is considerable support for putting a stop to this situation, and it may be found not only here in the Congress but in the shipping industry and the American public as well.

So outrageous is this practice that even foreign corners echo discontent over ships from nations friendly to the West carrying goods to Communist governments. Just Saturday the Venezuelan longshoremen saw their proposal for a labor boycott of Cuban trading vessels adopted by a committee of the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization meeting in Mexico City. American delegates from the AFL-CIO urged even stronger steps.

Unfortunately a large portion of this shipping is carried on under the British flag. According to information which I

have received, some British ships may even sail direct from Red China to Cuba and North Vietnam.

The world has just witnessed the passing of a great British statesman, Sir Winston Churchill. Although it was Churchill who first warned of the dangers of world communism, the England he governed now aids the Reds. The British merchant marine, once under Churchill when he served as First Lord of the Admiralty, now serves the Communists by transporting their profitable cargos.

Recall Churchill's pleas for the United States to aid Britain in the early days of World War II. By contrast, today's U.S. requests for an end to British shipping to Communist Cuba have thus far gone unnoticed.

In 1941, when Britain was enlisting U.S. help, Churchill said:

The action of the United States will be dictated not by the methodical calculations of profit and loss, but by moral sentiment.

The Congress must act now to incite the moral sentiments of Britain and other allies whose ships aid communism. Enactment of the legislation I have introduced today will serve that purpose.

**PRESIDENT'S FARM MESSAGE IGNORES CALIFORNIA'S CRITICAL NEED**

(Mr. TEAGUE of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, California, the Nation's leading agricultural State, and the critical need of its farmers for workers, were totally ignored by the President in his farm message to Congress.

When the law permitting Mexican farm workers to enter this country was allowed to expire, at the instigation of the administration, California farmers were immediately confronted with a shortage of harvest laborers. To make matters worse, the Secretary of Labor then issued an order setting discriminatory wage rates that place California farmers at a serious competitive disadvantage. Rates in other States have been fixed at substantially lower figures. California agriculture today is in the most critical stage of its history, yet it is being totally ignored by the President.

All the emphasis of the message was placed on help for the growers of subsidized crops, such as wheat and feed grain, cotton, tobacco, rice and wool. Most of our California crops are without subsidy, although we grow 43 percent of the Nation's vegetables and 42 percent of the fruit and nuts—all of which are not subsidized. The President suggests nothing to assure that this produce, vital to the entire country, will be harvested.

Agriculture is California's leading industry, by dollar volume of production. It would seem to me that any threat to its health ought to be a matter of special concern to the President. However, we do not seem to have any friends in this administration, since we are being over-

looked by the President and harassed by the Secretary of Labor.

**HORTON RESOLUTION CONDEMNS  
SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM**

(Mr. HORTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a concurrent resolution to condemn the Soviet Union for its persecution of Jewish citizens.

The wave of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is wicked evidence of the godless nature of communism and should be exposed before the world.

Soviet efforts to crush the spirit of Russian Jews are sickening to Americans. We deeply believe in freedom of religion for all people.

Our national and natural opposition to any infringement of religious freedom summons us to denounce the Communists' campaign which is bent on destruction of traditional Jewish values and institutions.

We have abundant evidence that the Government of the Soviet Union is persecuting Jewish citizens. It is singling them out for extreme punishment of alleged economic offenses, synagogues are being confiscated, Jewish cemeteries are being closed, rabbis and lay leaders are being arrested, religious activities are being curtailed, educational and cultural opportunities are being denied Russian Jews, and restrictions are being imposed that prevent the reuniting of Jewish families.

The powers of the Soviet state are being ruthlessly and inhumanly directed against Jewish citizens. Jews suffer persecution in Russian universities, in Russian publications, and in Russian courtrooms.

This shocking condition demonstrates the base treachery of communism and should be so noted before the world, especially in the face of Soviet claims of equality.

The U.S. Congress has before it the opportunity to endorse and encourage the protests of millions of our fellow citizens. Let us, then, affirm their appeal to Soviet authorities that in the name of decency and humanity religious freedom be restored to the Jews of Russia.

**NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED  
STATES (H. DOC. NO. 79)**

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

The wonder of nature is the treasure of America.

What we have in woods and forest, valley and stream, in the gorges and the mountains and the hills, we must not



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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## House of Representatives

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., quoted this verse from Ephesians 6: 10: *Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might.*

Let us pray:

O Thou who wert the God of the Founding Fathers, and in whom they trusted, we rejoice that Thou hast been the God of all their succeeding generations.

May our own life with its manifold problems and perplexities, and its heavy responsibilities, daily become richer and stronger in the realization of Thy sustaining power and peace.

Help us to cultivate those capacities of insight and understanding which will enable us to see our tasks in their right perspective.

Grant that we may be inspired by that conquering faith which will encourage us to meet every moral issue without compromise or complaint.

Hear us in the name of our blessed Lord. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, February 4, 1965, was read and approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Ratchford, one of his secretaries.

### ANNOUNCEMENT

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, at this time I want to announce the assignments to the objector committees on our side of the aisle.

On the Consent Calendar the objectors will be the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FELY], the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JOHNSON].

On the Private Calendar there will be the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE], the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HURCHENSON], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. McEWEN].

### THE CLOSING OF THE VA HOSPITAL AT GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.

(Mr. McVICKER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to state that I am wholeheartedly in favor of the provisions that were placed in this bill by the Senate. I am wholeheartedly behind the amendments to the 1965 agriculture appropriations supplemental bill, which would prohibit the closing of certain Veterans' Administration facilities and agriculture research stations.

The closing of the VA hospital at Grand Junction, Colo., presents a problem peculiar to the West. To those veterans and their families on the western slope of the Rockies it would mean a great hardship to travel hundreds of miles to the nearest VA hospital. It will not save money; it will only cheapen services. Do we not owe a great debt to these disabled veterans in bringing the best possible hospital facilities at the greatest possible convenience? The gentleman from Colorado, the Honorable WAYNE ASPINALL, in whose district this Grand Junction hospital is located, has given his full support to retaining this hospital and I wish to associate myself with him.

While the Cheyenne Horticultural Field Station at Cheyenne, Wyo., is not in Colorado, it is a regional station serving my constituents. If the Cheyenne Horticultural Field Station is closed as planned there will be no institution left in the whole Great Plains-Rocky Mountain region doing any significant research on those plants needed for President Johnson's "green legacy for tomorrow." Certainly no other part of the United States has greater need for horticultural research, because ours is the last great area of the country to be settled and because our conditions are so

different from those of the older East, Midwest, and Far West that their horticultural plants and practices cannot be employed here.

I feel that it would be a great blunder to discontinue the research now underway at Cheyenne.

### AMBASSADOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON

(Mr. SCHISLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, while we were adjourned Friday last, there occurred in the life of one of my fellow Illinoisans one of those milestones we each and every one note with the passing of the calendar years. This gentleman from Illinois has seen 65 years come and go, and he has not stood idly by while these birthdays came and went. As we know from the events of recent days, he worked Friday last on the occasion of his 65th birthday, as indeed he has for many birthdays in the past, and we hope, as he shall for many in the future.

Mr. Speaker, this statesman—for statesman, he is—has, in fact, been one of those active participants in history without which our lives would be less meaningful and our history less purposeful.

It is appropriate, therefore, that we say not only "happy birthday" to Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, but also express appreciation for his years and decades of unselfish public service to his fellow countrymen, not to mention his fellow citizens of the world. He comes, Mr. Speaker, from a State whose motto is "State Sovereignty, National Union." As one of the outstanding Governors of Illinois, he was always faithful and true to this admonition. As a candidate for the highest civil office in our land, he demonstrated in his speeches and writings a profound understanding of the deep philosophical roots of our democratic system and an acute awareness of the practical operations of its diverse parts. I might add a personal note that his speeches and writings first sparked my own interest in public service.

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nevertheless, a great many of its employees live in that area.

As I understand it now, if you take away the base there would be a recession, because you don't have the industries or other back-up work for people that work outside the base.

If you take away the base, then the related work which the payroll of this base keeps going will also disappear. Certainly you will have a depression, not a recession.

In my statement, Senator. I said how can our Government create an unemployment in an already depressed area, only then to ask Congress for funds to raise employment in the same area? This is an inconsistency which must be repugnant to all.

As national president of the American Federation of Government Employees, I have been informed of the Department of Defense's plans to close certain defense agencies. There was no consultation with this union or to my knowledge with any union prior to the announcement that the Olmsted employees would be affected by the base closures.

The Secretary has assured the civilian employees that every effort will be made to find new positions, both within the Government and private industry. I have no quarrel with this statement, but as you gentlemen from Pennsylvania know, people do not just pick up roots and move without hardship. The employees from Olmsted must move unless the Department of Defense is able to relocate other defense activities at Olmsted Air Force Base which would utilize the skills of these employees. I say that they must move because the labor market area cannot absorb these people. Some of the other gentlemen here today from the State of Pennsylvania will undoubtedly give you more details concerning the impact that this action will have on the Middletown area. The Department has given public assurances that every effort will be made to retrain employees. To date our union has not been consulted on this vital problem.

We must not forget that Middletown affects the northern Appalachian area and this region is receiving considerable attention by the administration and hopefully the U.S. Congress will act to relieve poverty in this area.

### Soviets Take Over Cuban Ocean Studies

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call my colleagues' attention to the shocking story which appeared in Hydrogram Intelligence Briefings on October 16, 1964. The article is entitled "Soviets Take Over Cuban Ocean Studies," and reads as follows:

The Navy is concerned over the Soviet mission which has come to Cuba to take over its oceanographic studies. These studies can have two directly connected effects on the United States-Soviet balance of power.

Charting the islands, reefs, keys, and underwater canyons in the Caribbean may locate nondetected submarine routes for Soviet submarines. Our detection devices would find it difficult to track submarines moving near the ocean bottom and shielded by a line of islands with connecting underwater reefs.

The Soviets also could be locating detection-proof passages where its subs could lay

secret mines to be fired by remote control. Soviet mining of terminal area sealanes and harbor approaches in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico would put the free Americas at a considerable disadvantage in facing a conventional war.

### Dream Comes True

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT McCLODY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1965

Mr. McCLODY. Mr. Speaker, as Representative of the 12th Illinois Congressional District in the heartland of the Midwest, I am always proud to recount new instances of the qualities of my constituents.

From the Waukegan News-Sun, the largest daily newspaper published in this district—Lake, McHenry, and Boone Counties—I have just clipped an article which I wish to share with my colleagues. I commend for your reading pleasure a people-to-people project in which a columnist, an ex-serviceman and his family, and a little Japanese girl are the principals. We are grateful to the columnist, Mrs. Bernice Just, for calling this item of human interest to our attention.

The article follows:

#### DREAMS COME TRUE

To a petite Japanese girl, the Waukegan News-Sun is not just a newspaper but a fairy godmother, also.

How the News-Sun became a godmother to the girl has a beginning.

Once upon a time, almost a year ago, the girl, whose name is Shigeyo Chiba, wrote to "The Waukegan Newspaper" in Waukegan, Ill.

"Would you ask in your column if some family in your area would keep me next school year so I could go to classes there and learn more about your wonderful country?" wrote Shigeyo, of Hokkaido.

At the time, the News-Sun never thought of itself as a godmother, and besides was fresh out of wands. Fortunately we had plenty of sticks of type.

In this column we told about Shigeyo.

Two families immediately volunteered to adopt Shigeyo for the year.

We asked former News-Sun proofreader, Mrs. G. B. Hanna, and Miss Eleanor Moore, both American Field Service advisers with experience in selecting families for foreign students, to decide which of the two families should be chosen for Shigeyo.

The AFS committee liked both families so much and found both so qualified as foster parents that the women, we think, flipped a coin.

They chose the Curt Rosemann family of 1524 West Derring Lane, Lake Villa. The sons are Bruce, 15, and Craig, 13. The rest of the family are rabbits, cats, geese, dogs, and parakeets.

Rosemann, an engineer for Jan-Air, Inc., Richmond, was in Japan when he was in service. All year long the family has been corresponding with Shigeyo and reading about Japan.

Shigeyo, in the meantime, has been continuing her study of English and trying to learn as much as possible about the United States.

"Tell me," she wrote to Mrs. Rosemann, "everything your family does in 1 day, from time you get up to when you go to bed."

Shigeyo kept writing the News-Sun.

"I want my American family to know well about me. I want to become like their true daughter."

The year of planning, correspondence with the American Embassy and the Japanese Government and other paperwork finally came to fruition: Shigeyo has been granted permission from her Government to come to Lake County.

So now we come to the beginning of another beginning.

Shigeyo will fly from Tokyo to O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, on March 30 or 31.

The fact that she will fly here has the sound of a fairy tale with godmothers and wands and wishes come true.

So maybe Shigeyo is right after all.

Maybe the News-Sun is not just a newspaper but a fairy godmother, also.

### Harvest of Shame

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to the following excellent article entitled "Harvest of Shame." This editorial appeared in the Daily News, Camarillo, Calif.

The editorial follows:

#### HARVEST OF SHAME

During 1964, the last year of the bracero farm labor program, western do-gooders and eastern know-nothings sowed the seeds of folly when they managed to beat down legislative attempts to have this workable system continued. This year, California is reaping a harvest of shame. While furtive attempts are made to fill the farm labor gap with unqualified domestics, the agricultural economy of the Nation's No. 1 farming State teeters on the brink of disaster.

Newly elected Senator GEORGE MURPHY, who vigorously opposed cancellation of the bracero program during his campaign, stated last week that farmers are letting fields lie fallow rather than plant crops only to have them rot on the vine.

With the domestic worker system only a few weeks old, the problems brought about by the change are already exceeding forecasts of the bracero proponents. And the troubles go beyond the basic difficulty of farmers dealing with this uncertain labor market.

County and city law enforcement officials report a sharp rise in incidents involving farmworkers notably fights and drunkenness. Oxnard Police Chief Al Jewell had so many drunks the first weekend after the farmworkers were paid that the city drunk tank was filled and some had to be sent to the county jail.

A sheriff's office spokesman said the department has received many calls on fights, both at the labor camps and in the fields. He said this was in marked contrast to the almost complete lack of this type of incident among the braceros.

Drinking and fighting are just openers—the rapes, burglaries, assaults and other crimes of violence are yet to come. Sheriff's officials, knowing the type of individuals that are being brought into the county to work

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in the fields, are certain they will come. A long, hot summer of violence may be in store for Ventura County and other agricultural areas.

The Government played a dirty trick on the farmers and rural area residents when it decided to trade braceros for America's unemployed. Farmers and ranchers were handed the job of rehabilitating the chronic unemployed. In an effort to secure enough farm hands and thereby prove that there are sufficient domestic workers to fill the need, labor recruiters dragged the slums of Los Angeles and other large cities.

Among the herds of field recruits rounded up is an ample sprinkling of winos, derelicts and skidrow burns. These individuals, unfortunate though they may be, need more than a job to set their lives aright, they require a carefully supervised rehabilitation program.

Of course, the majority of the domestics are good, honest workers, interested in making a decent living. But the supply of this type is limited and they usually have an eye open for better employment.

The bracero program was a sound program all around. It provided farmers with a stable supply of good adept, willing farmhands. Braceros were noted for their good behavior. They had to behave if they wanted to remain in this country.

They were a far cry from the slave laborers as many of the dogcoders tagged them. The Mexican workers were paid far beyond what they could expect in their homeland. They were well fed, clothed, sheltered and supervised. The fact that they were happy with their lot was reflected in their regretful departure last month.

The most baffling aspect about the whole situation is that by putting the ax to the bracero program, Uncle Sam canceled an important part of our foreign aid that didn't cost the taxpayers a red cent. The United States annually pours millions of dollars into Latin America with few thanks and little promise of being paid back. Yet in this instance, millions of dollars were going into Mexico in pockets of grateful braceros who left behind the most valuable harvest in the world.

But maybe this is why the "experts" in Washington killed the bracero program—it just made too much commonsense.

## Car Sales Hold Key to 1965 Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent budget message indicates that the depressing effects of our excise tax system are finally to have attention. I sincerely hope that this is the year that something will be done about reduction or repeal of the automobile excise tax. The importance of such a step is clearly pointed out by J. A. Livingston, Washington Post economist, in his article included in the Post's economic review section of January 10, 1965.

This article, "Car Sales Hold Key to 1965 Prosperity," illustrates that "as autos go, so will 1965, and vice versa." Since we in the House may soon be faced with a decision on auto excise taxes I take this opportunity to commend this

penetrating article to the careful attention of my colleagues in the House and under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the Record:

## CAR SALES HOLD KEY TO 1965 PROSPERITY

(By J. A. Livingston)

What's to keep prosperity rolling?

That is the question, as we enter 1965.

This has been a 20-year boom.

It began right after World War II and has persisted with only four minor interruptions—1949-50, 1953-54, 1957-58, and 1960-61. The setbacks were so mild we introduced a new term: Recession instead of depression.

The latest advance has been a gallop. It started in February 1961—the month after President Kennedy's inauguration—and has hardly stopped for breath since.

It is now the second longest peacetime up-cycle on record, exceeded only by the unprosperous recovery from the great depression.

But this raises a critical question: Is it petering out?

The majority of economists who responded to my year-end questionnaire think so. Their predicted pattern for the year is: First half up, second half up also, but not so fast. This leads to the inference: Recession in 1966.

## TROUBLE SPOTS

Here are seven reasons for apprehension: 1. The automotive industry has had 3 superlative years in a row. Adding on a fourth would be like filling an inside straight in poker. It can be done, but the experts advise: "Don't bet your all on it."

2. Housing continues to dip. The continued rise in foreclosures and the persistent vacancy rate of more than 7 percent hardly foreshadow any immediate reversal.

3. The United States has not yet solved its balance-of-payments difficulties, and even more emphatically, neither has Great Britain. A sterling crisis could upset international money markets and perhaps put pressure on the dollar.

4. As a corollary, the Federal Reserve System is inhibited. Modern economic thought—a la Keynes—dictates that central banks should make money and credit cheap and plentiful when business is not expanding rapidly enough to take up slack in employment. But if interest rates were to fall in the United States, foreign banks, business firms, and investors would pull out funds—hot money—from this country. This would put pressure on America's gold supply and perhaps cause a dollar crisis.

5. Closing of military bases, if not carefully planned and spaced, can cause pockets of unemployment and a fear psychology. Indeed, retrenchment in defense spending—highly desirable, in itself—is a source of uncertainty.

6. Labor unrest is possible. The rivalry between David J. McDonald, president, and I. W. Abel, secretary-treasurer, for the presidency of the United Steelworkers increases the chance of a strike. Whoever is elected will want to prove he deserved it—by winning a signal wage boost.

7. Moreover, in anticipation of trouble in steel, many manufacturers and retailers are building up inventories. Not only are they ordering steel but also products made of steel. This could lead to an up-down inventory cycle.

## RETURN GROWS

So much for the question: What's to cause a slowdown? Now to: What's to keep prosperity rolling?

Recoveries are often propelled along by unexpected strengths generated by recovery, itself. This is possible in 1965.

Corporate profits have made the great leap upward: From \$22 billion after taxes in 1961, to \$25 billion in 1962, to \$27 billion in 1963, and in 1964 so well above \$30 billion. This is a major breakthrough.

The return on invested capital has been increasing. This courses through the economy in unexpected ways and places. It induces corporate boards of directors and entrepreneurs to put more money into new capacity and development projects.

This flow-through is discernible in the railroads. For years they were the economy's stepchildren. Now, profits are up, and this year's capital expenditures will be three times those of 1960.

Furthermore, the social needs of modern living—highways, schools, parking facilities, hospitals, sewage disposal systems—require continuing expansion in capital improvements by State and local governments. These will be a powerful force again this year.

And the increase in employment—at rising income levels—widens the base of consumer demand. Affluence always lifts families into higher spending brackets.

This widened demand will be reinforced by an upsurge in marriages. The big crop of babies born just before and after the end of the war is reaching the age of nubility.

## PRESIDENT AWARE

Finally—and this is what keeps me optimistic—President Johnson and his economic advisers are fully aware of the standard forecast: Up in the first half, second half up also, but not so fast. Such retarded economic growth would mean a shortage of jobs for the bumper crop of 18-to-21 year olds.

The second stage of the tax cut voted last year will take effect. This will add somewhat to incomes. And elimination or reduction of excise taxes is probable. This will reduce price tags on higher priced items, such as autos, furs, etc. Finally, if necessary, President Johnson can have ready a shelf of public works—just in case.

The greatest danger this year is external—events beyond the mastery of the President and his aids, such as an international monetary crisis, deeper involvement militarily in the Far East, disputes with the Soviet Union. But these are the unpredictable. And in business and investment planning, it's not easy to do much about them.

The domestic economic test will come in the spring. If automobile sales keep pace with the optimistic forecasts of Detroit executives, then a good second half will hatch.

Conclusion: As autos go, so will 1965, and vice versa.

## Americans Are Eyeball to Eyeball With Communism in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1965

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the presses are running overtime today producing evaluations of the present situation in South Vietnam. Foreign policy experts are blossoming forth every Monday morning in the tradition of the "Monday morning quarterback."

Some of the articles appearing are indeed enlightening and are based on factual information of responsible reporters and journalists in the field. Others are obviously written by those who merely want to jump on the bandwagon of the critics.

Without doubt, the military and political situation in South Vietnam grows more ominous from day to day. The



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**PROPOSED ADJUSTMENT OF  
WITHHOLDING TAXES**

(Mr. MINSHALL (at the request of Mr. Gross) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, millions of American taxpayers are shocked to find themselves owing the Federal Government a great deal more income tax for 1964 than they had expected.

This is a debt few of them anticipated and that many are not financially prepared to meet without serious economic hardship.

Because income taxes were underwithheld by the Government last year, through confusion and conflict in the administration's tax rate bill, taxpayers now must pay the penalty for the Government's carelessness in setting up a two-stage drop in the tax rate, while allowing a larger, one-stage drop in withholding. Many of us cautioned that payroll deductions would not be large enough, but no steps were taken to correct the inequity and taxpayers were urged to spend their bigger take-home paychecks. The onus is on the Government, not the unsuspecting taxpayer.

Only last week, Congressman Urr introduced legislation to spread payments due on April 15 over the next year so that taxpayers will not feel such a heavy impact at this time. Economic problems on the family level are quickly reflected in the national economy, and I fear the repercussions that mass borrowing and depletion of personal savings accounts could have. I am therefore cosponsoring a bill to give taxpayers a chance to adjust withholding taxes so that the time for payment of one-half of the 1964 withholding deficiency will be April 15, 1966. By adjusting withholding taxes during the balance of 1965, it would, in effect, restore a two-stage withholding system to correspond with the two-stage tax reduction.

Because April 15 is drawing near, and because taxpayers are being urged to file returns early, I hope that the House will take remedial action just as quickly as possible.

**CAPTIVE NATIONS**

(Mr. ROBISON (at the request of Mr. Gross) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, this is indeed a week of great significance in the history of Lithuania. Not only do we commemorate the 47th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Lithuania, but this week also marks the 714th anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian state and the 712th anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian kingdom.

As we again pause to honor the Lithuanian Independence Day, it is sad that the peoples of that country have little to celebrate. The people of Lithuania and the other Baltic States have now been under the control of the Soviet Union for almost 25 years.

I have today reintroduced a concurrent resolution requesting the President to bring the Baltic States question before the United Nations so that these peoples might once again enjoy the freedom they hold so dear. While these thoughts are still fresh in our minds, I urge the Congress to adopt this measure as soon as possible. The peoples of the Baltic States have already lived too long as captives.

(Mr. FINDLEY (at the request of Mr. Gross) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. FINDLEY'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. MOORE (at the request of Mr. Gross) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

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**SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE SINKING OF THE BATTLESHIP  
"MAINE" IN HAVANA HARBOR, CUBA**

The SPEAKER. Under special orders heretofore entered into, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today is the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor in Cuba. It is an anniversary that veterans of the war with Spain, which was triggered by the blowing up of the *Maine*, observed during the years with appropriate memorial services for the *Maine's* heroic dead, numbering 266.

Ninety-two veterans of the war with Spain were elected by their constituents to the Congress of the United States. When I came to the House of Representatives in 1949, I was one of four Spanish War veterans then serving in the

House. Today, I am the last veteran of that war of 67 years ago in this or the other body. This has been the case for a number of years.

Deeply I have felt that this circumstance of survival has placed upon me a responsibility. In respect and affection for my comrades who are gone, I feel that to the utmost of my ability I should continue, as long as I am here, to be a sort of spokesman for the spirit of 1898.

The spirit of 1898 was a previous expression of pure patriotism, something that was in the nostrils and the hearts and the souls of American men and women near the turn of the century. It was the spirit of a people responding to the call of the destiny ahead, a spirit that with the succession of events it influenced, truly, can be said to have turned the course of history.

Every year of my congressional tenure I have been granted a special order on February 15 or the date closest thereto if on February 15 the House were not in session. I appreciate that as a veteran of a war fought 67 years ago I cannot continue this practice for too many years. I earnestly suggest that after this last Spanish War veteran is gone, members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars might wish to continue the observance on the floor of this Chamber of the anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*.

It will be remembered, of course, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States was founded by the overseas veterans of the Spanish-American War, sailors who had served in the Atlantic and the Pacific, soldiers who had fought in Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and in China during the Boxer uprising.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert at this point an editorial from the February 11, 1965, issue of the Stars and Stripes, the National Tribune:

**SINKING OF THE "MAINE"**

The passage of 67 years has dimmed in the minds of most Americans the historic event that took place in Havana Harbor, Cuba, on February 15, 1898.

Few Americans alive today can recall the mysterious attack upon the battleship *Maine* as it lay at anchor off Havana. The explosion which rent the battleship with the loss of 266 officers and men out of a complement of 354 was a major disaster and it brought the United States into direct conflict with the Spanish Empire.

The sinking of the *Maine* awakened the conscience of this Nation and immediately there arose an insistent demand from millions of Americans that we go to war with Spain. Inevitably this decision was made and history records the splendid accomplishments of the last completely volunteer army made up largely of American boys in their teens. More than 6,000 American youths died in action or from deadly tropical diseases. In addition the lifespan of many more thousands was curtailed because of the hardships endured during the campaigns in the tropical areas.

The plight of the Cuban people particularly had been deteriorating for a number of years under the dominance of the Kingdom of Spain.

Only 90 miles from our shore, this country had not only taken official notice of the sad status of our neighbors but the American people themselves viewed the situation with some alarm. Thus it was an easy matter to step into conflict in an endeavor to gain freedom for the Cuban people.

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or rents they can afford. There must be more vigorous efforts in the District, both public, and private, to take advantage of all the programs now available under the national housing laws.

The District's urban renewal program must make a major effort in the years ahead to provide decent housing for low- and moderate-income families. The rehabilitation and renewal project now underway in Northwest Urban Renewal Area Project No. 1 may well offer an approach which can provide experience for similar projects elsewhere. There must be vigorous and prompt enforcement of the housing code, particularly in those areas where continuing deterioration may escalate into irrecoverable slums. Too little effort has been exerted to assure that violations are detected and corrected promptly. Both tenants and landlords must be made aware of their responsibilities as well as their rights.

Urban renewal powers must be made available to the District, as they are to other cities, to aid in the development of blighted commercial areas. They are particularly needed in the central city, where the demonstrated interest of the business community insures a fruitful cooperation between public and private efforts.

There is need, too, for a reorganization of the urban renewal and public housing machinery of the District, in order that it may be more responsive to the District's multiple needs. Immediate attention must be given to changes which will focus appropriate responsibility, and commensurate authority, in the District's Board of Commissioners. Some delays are inherent in major urban projects, and no doubt this has been particularly true during the early years of the urban renewal program, but we can no longer afford or tolerate such delays.

**F. Poverty:** The District can and should be a leader and an example to the Nation in the attack on poverty. Already there is a bold beginning, coordinated by the United Planning Organization, and using the combined resources of the Federal and District Governments and generous aid from both the Ford and the Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundations. But the war on poverty is not to be won in one cataclysmic battle. It is more a war of attrition, in which there must be no letup of effort. The District must continue to provide training, counseling, employment services, and other aid on a coordinated and more intensive basis to those who are now unemployed or so underemployed that they cannot provide support for their families. It must have a minimum wage law expanded to cover men, as well as women and children. It must provide the educational help and other aids which will insure that the next generation, the potential welfare clients of the 1970's and 1980's, meet the challenge of our new technology and become self-supporting. We must break the cycle of poverty and dependency. It can be done. It will, in the long run, be far less expensive than any other course.

III

The District and the National Capital region: The District of Columbia is no longer the largest element of the Wash-

ington metropolitan region, either in number of residents or in area. Increasingly, the problems of the District blend into and become a part of regional problems. Transportation, water, air pollution, sewage and waste disposal, fire and police protection, recreation, employment, and economic development are only a partial list of matters in which neither the District nor any other part of the area can proceed behind its own jurisdictional curtains.

**A. Transportation:** The most critical of the regional development needs is transportation. Washington is now the only major capital in the Western World lacking a rail rapid transit system. There is urgent need to begin the construction of such a system—largely within the District at the beginning, but eventually extending into the suburbs of Maryland and Virginia. I have already transmitted to the Congress proposed authorizing legislation.

The highway program, both within and without the District, must likewise not be allowed to lag. The cooperative efforts of District and Federal agencies through the Policy Advisory Committee to review some elements of the program should be continued. Construction should proceed as rapidly as funds can be made available.

**B. Regional development:** I have already indicated my hopes that the Potomac River will become a model of beauty and usefulness for the Capital and the Nation. There are, however, many other problems of the Washington metropolitan area for which long-range metropolitan solutions are necessary. The interest of the Federal Government in the best development of the region is manifest, and its cooperation in resolving regional problems is essential. We must encourage and facilitate local efforts to create effective organs of regional cooperation. In addition, the Federal Government must utilize its own policies and programs to assist the region to develop in a way which will maximize the efficiency and economy of Federal Government operations, and which will permit this region to exemplify to the United States and to the world the best in regional cooperation and metropolitan growth.

IV

Washington as a national capital: The District, as the Nation's Capital, must meet the special requirements imposed on the capital city of a great nation. We are committed to preserving and enhancing the great avenues, the great museums and galleries, the great sweep of the Mall.

Legislation is being prepared in connection with the proposals to transform Pennsylvania Avenue from its present shabby state to a new dignity and grandeur. As long as blight and ugliness disfigure any part of this historic link between the Capitol and the White House, it cannot suitably serve as the main ceremonial avenue of the Nation, either to American citizens or to visitors from abroad. The proposal need not be undertaken at once in all of its aspects, but every aid and encouragement should be given to further study and refinement of its details and to the establishment of

the creative partnership of Government and private enterprise needed to convert the avenue into a thoroughfare worthy of the Nation's pride.

There are other areas where needed improvements can also be accelerated. The Washington Monument can be given the setting it deserves as soon as the development of the freeway from the Roosevelt Bridge to the 14th Street Bridge, and the 9th and 14th Street underpasses of the Mall permit the elimination of the 15th Street traffic from near the base of the monument. The temporary buildings which huddled at its base are already gone, and the plans to improve its immediate surroundings must be pushed forward.

The Lincoln Memorial, long throttled by a circle of heavy automobile traffic, can be freed of its noose as soon as the freeway running beneath its grounds permits the area facing the Reflecting Pool and the monument to be reserved for the visitor on foot. The memorial will not achieve its proper setting, however, until the remaining obsolete and temporary buildings on Constitution Avenue are eliminated.

There are many other projects. Temporary buildings on public space throughout the monument area must be removed. There is need to carry forward the plans to develop the potential of the Mall, so that it may be a place of life and beauty, of pleasure and relaxation. There is need for a visitors' center which will provide perspective and understanding regarding the Federal Government to the myriad students and tourists who come to Washington to see and learn.

There is also urgent need to proceed with the improvement of the central business district in a way which permits full coordination with the progress on Pennsylvania Avenue. The full potential of Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the Anacostia River as a major entranceway to the city has not been realized. There is the development of Washington's waterfront in connection with the new aquarium. There is the need to identify landmark buildings and places, and to work out means by which to encourage their preservation.

The District presents both a challenge and an opportunity. Here we have natural beauty as well as buildings of historic and architectural value. The great sweep of the Potomac River, Rock Creek Park, and the ring of parks where the old Civil War forts stood make the District a city in a park. In its heart the grandeur of the Mall, the many circles and squares, and the great street trees carry natural beauty to everyone.

Today there is new awareness of our urban environment. We can, if we will, make the District the symbol of the best of our aspirations. We can make it a city in which our citizens will live in comfort and safety, and with pride, and in which commerce and industry will flourish. We can make it a capital which its millions of visitors will admire. All this we must do. I am sure the Congress will join me in accepting the challenge.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 15, 1965.

While some historians have seen fit to minimize the war itself and its afterward effects, it is a historic fact that the successful conclusion of this warfare brought to America untold immediate wealth. Victory made possible the Panama Canal, brought ultimate success over the dreaded plague of yellow fever and opened up broad vistas of world commerce. It can be unequivocally stated that the lessons learned during this conflict laid the foundation for victory in both World Wars.

Now the ranks of the survivors of this conflict grow thinner each year. Their average age is well over 83, but they can take pride and comfort in the fact that they played a vital role in the making of America as we know it today.

(Mr. ALBERT (at the request of Mr. O'HARA of Illinois) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to join our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, in observing the 67th anniversary date of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, which triggered the involvement of the United States in a major military action against a foreign power on foreign soil and in defense of freedom on this continent. As the House knows, the gentleman from Illinois was himself a member of the Army of over 18,000 Regulars and volunteers who fought in Cuba in 1898. He served with the 33d Volunteer Infantry of Michigan under General Duffield. He is the lone Member of the House at this time to have experienced the rigors of the Cuban campaign. He has shared with us his recollections of the battles and events of that epic period in our history. Through him we have come to know the spirit of liberation and abiding belief in free government which inspired these courageous men who fought under circumstances rarely suffered in modern warfare—shortages of munitions and equipment, food, and medical supplies.

He has transmitted to us their determination to aid the suppressed Cuban peoples suffering under the yoke of Spanish rule. He has opened our eyes to the deeds of bravery and self-sacrifice commissioned by the troops, and the military genius of strategist Maj. Gen. William R. Shafter who commanded the Army in Cuba, of Gen. Leonard Wood, of division commanders Lawton and Kent, and brigade commanders Chaffee, Hawkins, Ludlow and Duffield, all names lettered in gold on the rosters of our military heroes.

These were the forces which, together with our strong naval forces under Commodore George Dewey, occupied not only Cuba but Puerto Rico, the Pacific island of Guam in the Marianas, the harbor of Manila Bay in the Philippines and which were indirectly responsible for the annexation of Hawaii which had been seeking union with the United States since 1893. The peace treaty provided for full title to the Philippines, cession of Guam and Puerto Rico and Spain's relinquishing of sovereignty over Cuba.

These new bases in the Pacific, a boon to American trade in the Orient and helpful in offsetting the effects of then recently acquired European bases in that area, were slated to have even greater

significance in the outcome of a world war decades later.

This American victory gave the United States strategic supremacy in the Caribbean area, involved it in the problems of the Far East, spurred the growth of our Navy, and paved the way for the opening of the Panama Canal. Destiny, we know now, at this point in our history, had called the United States to a leading role in world affairs. Henceforth, America turned her gaze outward and, building upon the base provided by her leadership in Cuba, commenced a new role on the world stage.

It is scarcely an wonder that our colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, treasures his memories of those momentous days when our country laid aside the things of her youth, and took up the burdens and glories of world leadership. He sees these events both from the personal and the broader national and international view. He knows the hundreds of human sacrifices, great and small, which made possible our emergence as a world power. He knows that we have accepted these sacrifices and perhaps acknowledged them and compensated them too little.

It is a privilege to pay tribute to him personally and to his comrades of his early years to whom we owe a debt beyond accounting.

(Mr. CRAMER (at the request of Mr. O'HARA of Illinois) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure for me to join my distinguished friend and colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, in paying tribute today to that wondrous breed of men who fought for America on a purely voluntary basis during the Spanish-American War. I believe the gentleman is the only Member of Congress serving in the 89th Congress who fought in that war during 1898.

It was 67 years ago today, Mr. Speaker, that the tragic event occurred. On a peaceful Sunday evening at Havana Harbor in Cuba, 266 Americans lost their lives when the great Battleship *Maine* was torn apart by a terrific explosion. The sinking of the *Maine* caused America to forget her sectional problems and bound her together in a tremendous wave of patriotism. When President McKinley asked for 125,000 volunteers, more than 1 million offered their services. Overnight, "Remember the *Maine*" became the battlecry of all America.

Although the war was short in duration, the insurrectionist movement across the Pacific in the Philippines caused the injury or death to many Americans long after the 10-month war was technically over.

Mr. Speaker, should you ask a member of today's younger generation what he or she knows about the Spanish-American War, you would probably hear the reply that it was started with the sinking of the Battleship *Maine*. But, beyond that, you would not receive much information. Like my friend from Illinois, this to me is a tragedy. I recently picked up a copy of a sixth-grade history text and was astonished to note that only three short paragraphs covered the en-

tire war. When you consider that it was the Spanish-American War that started this great Nation on its climb to the position of world prominence which she enjoys today, this is certainly a paradox. I am hopeful that the historians who look back upon the events of 1898 will soon put them into their rightful and proper perspective.

This is the reason, Mr. Speaker, that our colleague has reserved this hour today. It is, I am sure, the reason he has spoken on this topic each and every year he has been a Member of this august body. And it is the reason I join in his cause. It is a just and honest one and I am certain he shall meet success.

(Mr. ROOSEVELT (at the request of Mr. O'HARA of Illinois) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, February 15, 1965, marks the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, a naval disaster that plunged the United States into the Spanish-American War under the popular slogan "Remember the *Maine*."

That war grew out of the Cuban insurrection against Spanish rule that began in February 1865, an insurrection fought ruthlessly and ferociously by both sides. Pressures for American intervention were resisted by President Cleveland, and his successor, President McKinley, followed the same course during the beginning of his administration. A settlement seemed in prospect when the destruction of the *Maine* led to great anti-Spanish feeling in the United States. On April 11, 1898, the President sent Congress a message asking for authority to end the civil war in Cuba. On April 19, Congress passed resolutions recognizing the independence of Cuba, demanding that Spain withdraw from the island, and authorizing the President to use the Armed Forces for these purposes; another resolution disclaimed any American intention of annexing Cuba. On April 25, Congress declared that a state of war had existed from April 21.

A midshipman rescued from the *Maine* later became an admiral. Writing of the sinking of the *Maine* in his memoirs, Adm. W. T. Cluverius recounted:

Shortly after three bells, I finished my letter. As I rose from my desk, I heard a sharp sound \* \* \*. Immediately there followed a terrifying explosion.

The explosion that sank the *Maine* led to a war which diplomatic historians consider to be the beginning of the emergence of the United States as a world power.

The Spanish-American War was fought by volunteers. Over 5,000 died, many more from disease than in battle. The average age of veterans of that war is now in the eighties. There are very few of them left. To them, and to the memory of their comrades of long ago, we say that we still "Remember the *Maine*."

(Mr. MATSUNAGA (at the request of Mr. O'HARA of Illinois) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, in this period of world crisis, when once

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again the forces of tyranny are on the move, and once again the cause of freedom hangs in the balance, it is well to remember that in many times past ominous crises have given way to victory.

At the close of our great and tragic Civil War, we found our Nation rent apart and all but devastated. That is to say, we were, to all intents and purposes, a thoroughly divided people, with little hope of ever again acting as a united nation.

Throughout the world it was widely believed that our country was weakened by warfare to such an extent that no nation had reason to respect us as a force in international politics. Acting on this belief, the agents of royal Spain saw fit to prey upon our rights in the Caribbean Sea. In November 1873, news reached us of the capture of an American ship, the *Virginius*, by Spanish authorities, off the coast of Cuba. On November 12, confirmation arrived that Captain Fry of the *Virginius* and 36 members of his crew had been executed by a Spanish firing squad, on a charge of "piracy."

Enraged by the enormity of this atrocious act, a great many Americans clamored for war; but moderation prevailed. In time, on a basis of negotiation, the *Virginius* and her survivors were repatriated to the United States.

The belief persisted abroad that we were two nations, North and South, and that we consequently dared not undertake a fight in behalf of our principles. In keeping with this belief, Spanish abuses continued.

Indeed the battle cry, "Remember the *Maine*," is only one of many rallying cries we have had in the history of our country, and tyrants will find in the future as well that fight we will in the cause of justice and freedom.

For some time the United States suffered in patient forbearance—throughout the 1870's, through the eighties—while meanwhile conditions worsened in the Caribbean. Then it happened—the stroke that could not be ignored; the blow we could not overlook.

On the afternoon of February 15, 1898, the second-class American battleship *Maine* lay moored in Havana harbor, officially protected by the powers of Spanish authority. Then, at 9:40 that night, two explosions rocked the harbor, throwing parts of the *Maine* 200 feet in the air. Two officers and 258 members of the crew were killed by the blast. Suddenly, American patience was exhausted; overnight we were at war.

As it turned out on that occasion, the United States was not in fact a divided nation, but whole and sound, capable of fighting effectively under one flag. In short time we swept the enemy before us, at one and the same moment driving Spain from the ranks of the powerful and donning the mantle of world leadership ourselves—a mantle we wear to this very day.

The lesson is clear, I think, for all to see. That we, the people of the United States, will tolerate only just so long the force of those concerned primarily with power. Ours is a cause established on principle, and we are convinced that in

every test of strength between principle and sheer force, principle is stronger. On that belief we have built this, our great nation, and are dedicated to helping others to do the same.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I am happy to yield to my good friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON].

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding and I thank him for once again taking the floor to call to the attention of this body the historic importance of February 15 in the history of our Nation. No person could be a finer spokesman for the spirit of 1898 than my good friend, our beloved colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA]. In my judgment he has been a living embodiment of that spirit and has reflected that spirit throughout his outstanding service as a Member of this body and in the service of his country which preceded his time in Congress.

I will certainly undertake in every way within my power to be present at any time that he takes the floor to observe this day. I feel that the spirit of patriotism is kindled anew in the hearts of all of us each time the gentleman from Illinois speaks on this occasion.

I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I am very deeply grateful to my good friend from Oklahoma.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I will be happy to yield to my good friend, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW].

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I should also like to commend the gentleman from Illinois for bringing to the attention of the country again this fateful day of 67 years ago and compliment him for what he has done here in the House to keep us reminded of the war in which he participated.

As the gentleman knows, I have the honor to represent here in the House the congressional district of his Commander in Chief of those days, William McKinley, who served in this House before becoming a Member from Ohio and then President of the United States. I am sure that President McKinley would greatly appreciate what the distinguished gentleman from Illinois has done here today and in the past. For that reason I rise to pay my compliments to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio. May I add here that in my opinion there has been no nobler character in American history than that of President McKinley; a deeply religious man and a great American. I am proud that as a boy just turning 16 I responded to President McKinley's call to go to foreign fields and take up the destiny of America.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN].

(Mr. MADDEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, several generations of Americans have but a dim memory of the Spanish-American War. The Congress is reminded each year by our colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, Congressman BARRATT O'HARA, of facts concerning this historical occasion which are not recorded in the history books.

Sixty-seven years have passed since that memorable event which took place in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, the sinking of the Battleship *Maine*. The newspapers of that day recorded it as a mysterious attack upon the great battleship as it lay at anchor off Havana. The dynamiting of the *Maine* by the enemy killed 266 officers and men and this major disaster brought the United States into war with the Spanish Empire.

History has recorded in many volumes the splendid accomplishments of the last completely volunteer army made up largely of American boys under 21 years of age. Over 6,000 American youths died in action or from deadly tropical disease. The lifespan of thousands more was curtailed because of the hardships endured during the battles in the disease-infested tropical areas.

In winning the great victory, the United States served notice on the world that our Nation was a champion for liberty and when its flag was attacked it would fight not only to preserve our honor but to also help gain freedom for the people of an enslaved neighbor nation.

The Spanish-American War victory started America on its road to eventual leadership of the nations all over the world, and gave to the people of America an international status both through trade and prestige which eventually brought prosperity and untold success to the people of our land. The victory made possible the U.S. construction of the Panama Canal and also brought scientific medical discoveries against yellow fever and many more disease plagues which have relieved world humanity of untold suffering and death. There is no doubt but what the Spanish-American War victory laid the foundation for our victory in both World War I and World War II.

The ranks of the heroes of the Spanish-American War are growing thinner as the years and months pass. Very few veterans of that conflict are alive today and their average age is around 85 years.

The Members wish to commend our colleague, the only Spanish-American War veteran in our ranks in Congress, BARRATT O'HARA, for keeping alive this annual tribute to the leaders and participants in that great conflict of over 60 years ago.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I thank the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I should like to add my word of commendation of the gentleman from Il-



lincoln for bringing again to the attention of this House and the country the stirring days of 1898. On this anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine* I think it behooves all of us to look back to those days and to remember the people who were herole in their deeds and who dreamed dreams which we have seen come to fruition.

As a Representative of the State of Arizona I am particularly pleased to be able to share with the gentleman from Illinois my respects on this occasion because, as the gentleman will remember, many of the Roughriders were recruited from the State of Arizona. One of the most famous was Bucky O'Neal who led one of the companies of Roughriders and even at that time was one of the most famous lawmen of all time, having been a frontier sheriff whose name was famous in the Territory of Arizona.

So, Mr. Speaker, I think it is an occasion on which all States of the Union may take justifiable pride in remembering the exploits, the deeds, not only of their own sons but the sons of their sister States, in that war of 1898.

So, I hope, Mr. Speaker, and I know it will be so, that the gentleman from Illinois will be here for many years to bring forth the memories which we now bring forth on this day. I certainly wish for him and all of his fellow veterans of the Spanish-American War the very best of everything in the days to come.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I thank the gentleman from Arizona and I might remark that in 1914 when I was touring the country for the commander in chief of the United Spanish War Veterans I visited Phoenix and one of the great meetings we had was with the fellow veterans in Phoenix. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, in Havana Harbor. That tragic event led to the war with Spain and started a chain reaction that led to freedom for Cuba and eventual independence for the Philippines. It also marked the first time that uniformed Americans served overseas.

In rising to speak on this occasion, I wish to commend my distinguished colleague from Illinois for arranging the time today to observe this historic anniversary. He is the last remaining veteran of the Spanish-American War in the Congress and is one of the few surviving founders of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Our esteemed colleague has maintained a constant interest in Latin America, and while he has long served as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, he has at the same time given service as the active, energetic, ranking majority member of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.

I thank my friend and colleague for reminding us of the sinking of the *Maine* and all the subsequent events which are called to mind when we think of Cuba and developments there. It is sad to realize that the people of Cuba have again lost their freedom—this time

to a dictator from within, aided and supported by international communism. On this anniversary it is timely and fitting that we rededicate ourselves to the use of every effort to eliminate Communist domination from this hemisphere.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, today is the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor.

This is a time to pay tribute to the 226 Americans who lost their lives in this tragic event that triggered our war with Spain in 1898.

Today we count Spain among our friends in the struggle for international peace, while Cuba is ruled by a dictator whose sympathies are with our enemies. On this anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*, our Nation looks to the time, and it will come, when the freedom-loving people of Cuba will again enjoy the privileges of liberty and the rights of self-government. We do this in the name of the Americans who served and died in the Spanish-American War.

On this anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*, we extend our compliments and express our gratitude to the surviving veterans of the Spanish-American War and especially, to an outstanding one of them, a gallant, courageous, and beloved colleague and friend, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA].

Events of the past few years have focused new international attention upon Cuba. Once again the dignity of man and the future of free political institutions are at stake on that embattled island. We must not forget the *Maine* or Cuba, nor will we drop our guard against the dangerous influences which have come to our hemisphere with the rise of Castro in Cuba. In this time of difficulty, our hearts will be lifted up by the memories of those gallant boys of 1898.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, today we observe the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, with the loss of 260 officers and men. The news of the frightful tragedy startled the world. It led to the Spanish-American War and started the United States on the road to world power.

The sympathy of our countrymen had gone out to the Cubans in their long struggle for liberty. Numbered among their military leaders were Maximo Gomez and Antonio Maceo, men of bravery and patriotism unexcelled in the annals of any nation. José Martí, the apostle of liberty, belongs in the company of Jefferson, Bolivar, Lincoln, and Juarez. Today, in Cuba, these heroic defenders of liberty have been replaced by men like Fidel Castro, and the world is poorer because of that change.

In 1895 the revolt in Cuba had flared up again after more than a decade of relative tranquillity. As the situation became worse, Fitzhugh Lee, the U.S. Consul-General at Havana, appealed for support in the form of a naval force to insure the protection of U.S. citizens in Cuba.

On the morning of January 25, 1898, the Spanish authorities having been notified of her visit, the *Maine*, Capt.

Charles Sigsbee, steamed into Havana harbor and was moored to a buoy 500 yards off the arsenal. The Spanish officials acted with punctilious courtesy and the social amenities between American and Spanish officials proceeded according to naval protocol. No unusual incident took place until 9:40 p.m. on the night of February 15, when two terrific explosions threw parts of the *Maine* 200 feet in the air. The forward half of the ship was reduced to a mass of twisted steel; the after part slowly sank.

Immediately after the sinking of the *Maine* a board of inquiry was convened by the American Government and a similar one by the Government of Spain. In 1912, when the wreck was raised from the floor of Havana Harbor, a board of officers of the Navy made a further investigation. Opinions of experts have differed, and the cause of the explosion has never been conclusively established. It remains one of the unsolved mysteries of our time.

Whatever the cause of the appalling catastrophe may have been, its effect is clear. News of the disaster produced great excitement in the United States, and some newspapers accused the Spaniards. National feeling about the difficulties in Cuba crystallized in the slogan: "Remember the *Maine*." Relations between Spain and the United States, already strained by the indignation of the American people over the treatment and abuse of the Cubans by the Spanish Government, reached the breaking point. The events that followed culminated in a declaration of war on April 25, 1898.

The war that followed taught us the danger of unpreparedness. It taught us lessons in sanitation and disease control which probably saved the lives of thousands in World Wars I and II. It helped to heal the wounds of the Civil War and cemented North and South into one great people under one glorious flag. In the War with Spain the people of this country, as always before and since, displayed a unity and a patriotism scarcely matched in the history of the world.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on this, the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, I join with my colleagues in honoring the Spanish-American War veterans. In consequence of that war, tyranny was smashed in the Caribbean, and, until a few years ago, democracy prevailed. In a sense all this resulted from the sinking of a single ship, the American battleship *Maine*.

The cost of victory was high, for more than 5,000 American lives were lost, but then, as now, Americans have never hesitated to give their lives for the cause of freedom.

So today let us make clear to the Castros that the words "Remember the *Maine*" are as important as they were in 1898.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine* reminds us that this body is honored to have as one of its Members, the gentleman from Illinois, BARRATT O'HARA, the last surviving Spanish-American War veteran in Congress, who

not only served his country in this war, but also in World War I. BARRATT O'HARA has always had an intense interest in our neighbors to the south. As a boy, he accompanied an American expedition which was marking a route through Nicaragua for an interoceanic canal. He also went with a Smithsonian Institution party exploring the jungles of Central America and was with a U.S. expedition sent to help settle a boundary dispute between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. At the age of 15, BARRATT O'HARA, then a sophomore in high school, enlisted in the 33d Michigan Volunteer Infantry and landed in Cuba only a few days after Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. He participated in the siege of Santiago de Cuba and later was decorated by the Republic of Cuba for services rendered to the people of Cuba during their war for independence.

Since then, BARRATT O'HARA, has spent a lifetime in distinguished service to his country and the cause of peace. He is currently the chairman of an important Foreign Affairs subcommittee and a strong supporter of administration foreign policy. I have noticed something special about the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA]. He never views world problems in a narrow political or economic sense. He believes that the humanitarian aspect is of much greater significance and, for this I salute him.

Mr. Speaker, we often talk about the "spirit of '76" in regard to America's role in world leadership. Well, there is also the "spirit of '98," another milestone in the fight for freedom. BARRATT O'HARA symbolizes that spirit, Mr. Speaker, and I take this occasion to wish him many more long years of service in behalf of his country and the free world.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is our privilege to join here today in paying tribute to those who fought in the Spanish-American War.

The part that all the brave participants were to play in this brief but fierce conflict was triggered by the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Manila Harbor, on this day—67 years ago. This event, which is sometimes called "The Pearl Harbor of 1898," was to set off a sequence of engagements which culminated in the Battle of San Juan Hill, and on the 1st day of July 1898 we see that courageous and robust young American, Theodore Roosevelt, storming up the heights of San Juan hill, spurring his men on.

It was this land action, in support of our blockade of Santiago Harbor that accomplished the destruction of Spanish aggression and virtually brought about the end of the Spanish-American War. To those young Americans who laid down life before it had hardly begun, to the Rough Riders and their intrepid young leader as they stormed the ridges of San Juan Hill to pave the way to victory, and to all our brave men who served our great country in the Spanish-American War, we pay tribute.

But in honoring those who spread the account of this conflict, which brought the United States to its rightful place as a true champion of liberty, across the pages of history in the indelible ink of their bravery, we would be indeed remiss if we failed to honor our own. We have

among us a distinguished gentleman whose own brave life reads like the most imaginative of adventure stories. I speak of that distinguished gentleman from Illinois, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA.

To say that truth is stranger than fiction is understating BARRATT O'HARA's adventurous life. His brave experiences took him through that rugged segment of American history, the "authors" of which we honor today. At the brave young age of 15 years, he landed in Cuba 3 days after Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders had blazed the trail of freedom up San Juan Hill and for his participation in the siege of Santiago our colleague was awarded the Order of Military Merit in White, by the Republic of Cuba, for services rendered to the Cuban people in their struggle for independence from Spanish rule.

Each of us here knows of the incredible bravery and excitement with which BARRATT O'HARA's life unfolded, and as our colleague in this great body he represents to us not only all that is the best and the brave in service to our country and to his fellowman during times of stress, but he has distinguished himself among us for his long and devoted service as a Member of the Congress of the United States. To this brave man we pay tribute, and by the honor we pay him as a symbol of all that is great and good in our American determination to protect and preserve freedom among all peoples, we also do honor to those who served—as did BARRATT O'HARA—in that bloody conflict, the Spanish-American War.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, it is natural and right that our distinguished and beloved colleague from Illinois is leading the ceremony being observed today—commemorating the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine*.

BARRATT O'HARA showed his great patriotism, courage and love of freedom when he was only 15 years old. He was then a sophomore in high school and enlisted in the 33d Michigan Volunteer Infantry.

Landing in Cuba 3 days after "Teddy" Roosevelt and his famous "Rough Riders," he took part in the siege of Santiago de Cuba.

Later he received the Order of Military Merit in White by the Republic of Cuba for his skill and valor in Cuba's battle for independence. This remarkable, versatile and unforgettable man also served the United States in World War I.

So when BARRATT O'HARA takes the floor today to speak on the Spanish-American War, he speaks with knowledge, experience and authority. He knows the horrors of war—but he also knows of the challenge and responsibilities of peace.

When the battleship *Maine* sank in Havana Harbor in 1898, that mysterious and tragic event affected many American families, some in Middlesex County, N.J., where a few survivors of that war live today, including a few in my home town of Perth Amboy. Despite their advanced years, these grand Spanish-American War veterans are still proud, tough and unconquerable.

Three American sailors from New Brunswick, N.J., lost their lives in the explosion of that now historic battleship. They were: Frederick L. Jernee, William H. Robinson and John H. Viegler.

To honor their service and memory, a monument was erected and later dedicated on May 30, 1899. For years it graced the courthouse area in New Brunswick, reminding the thousands who passed of the sailors' sacrifices. It remained there until Middlesex County built its new courthouse. A plaque was later placed in Buccleugh Park containing a simple but eloquent tribute.

On the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*, let us remember the bitter and tragic and costly lesson that we seem to forget—until perfidy strikes again—as it did in 1941:

That a nation enjoying the serenity and security of peace should always be aware of the dangers of treachery.

And that the best deterrent to attack—surreptitious or open—is a strong, courageous and vigilant defense.

Let us hope—and make sure—that our strength remains great, that our courage remains indomitable, and that our vigilance remains constant and alert, to protect and defend the people and land we love so well.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join my beloved colleague, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, of Illinois, in commemorating today the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, the event which started our war with Spain in 1898. As a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, I am especially interested in participating in the observance of this important episode in our history because the Spanish-American War Veterans, who were, the first uniformed Americans to serve overseas, were the founders of the VFW.

In 1898 the United States, motivated by the highest principles, fought successfully to free the Cuban people from Spanish control, and it is, therefore, especially tragic that we now find the Cubans under Communist domination. In contrast to the Spanish-American War, we witnessed, in the early days of the Kennedy administration, the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion, which resulted in such an inglorious defeat for Cuban and American forces attempting to restore independence and freedom to the Cuban people.

May I take this opportunity to commend my colleague BARRATT O'HARA, the only Spanish-American War veteran still serving in the Congress and one of the founders of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, whose outstanding service in the House of Representatives and dedication to his responsibilities in the Foreign Affairs Committee are a source of inspiration to all of us.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the sinking of the *Maine* and the ensuing war with Spain marked the emergence of the United States as a world power.

Brief though it was, the Spanish-American War offered the opportunity for a demonstration of American military and naval might over a 10,000-mile arc

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from Cuba's San Juan hill to Manila Bay.

Hitherto concerned principally with its own problems, the American Republic, at the turn of the century, had projected itself, for better or worse, as a force to be reckoned with in world affairs.

Within our own borders the war of 1898 was a unifying force. Once more men from North and South fought under the same flag. The 4th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, made up of several National Guard companies recruited in central Illinois, served in Cuba under the command of Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, who also had been a general in the Civil War, on the Confederate side.

At the time thousands of American youth doubtlessly looked upon the war with Spain as a glorious military adventure with the idealistic aim of freeing the Cuban people from a tyrannical rule, rather than as a turning point in American foreign policy.

No military draft was needed for this war. Volunteers rallied to the cause in every town and hamlet, echoing the battle cry, "Remember the *Maine*." Some, like our colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA] even falsified their age to join the colors. Leaving high school in Benton Harbor, Mich., at the age of 15, he landed in Cuba just 3 days after Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders.

Sixty-seven years have passed since the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898. Once again a tyrannical power has established itself on that island 90 miles off the shore of the United States, backed up by international communism, a much more formidable foe than the decadent Spanish monarchy against which we fought almost seven decades ago.

Each generation in our history has been called upon to make sacrifices in the cause of the freedoms we hold so dear. It is appropriate for us here today to honor those who carried our banner in the Spanish-American War. This is also a good opportunity to pause and remember that freedom's job is never done. We have young men who right now are carrying on the struggle in the jungles and in the skies of Vietnam.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor. Far too little attention has been paid to the war with Spain that resulted from this tragic event and to the heroic men who fought it.

I am proud to join my distinguished colleague from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA], who is, as we all know, the last remaining veteran of this conflict serving in Congress, in observing this anniversary.

The Spanish-American War was a turning point in American history. It marked America's coming of age as a world power dedicated to the preservation of freedom around the globe.

The immediate result of our victory was the liberation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from oppressive colonial rule.

But the ultimate significance of the war extends far beyond even this. It established a permanent American pres-

ence in the Pacific committed to the defense of human dignity and liberty.

All of this was accomplished by a force of American fighting men composed entirely of Volunteers—soldiers who, in spite of hurried training, insufficient supplies and equipment, and inadequate protection against tropical diseases, won a series of brilliant victories on land and sea.

The service these men rendered their country—indeed the cause of freedom everywhere—could never have been adequately repaid. But to our national shame, never in the history of this country has any army or its soldiers been so carelessly treated.

None of the veterans benefits which we have come to regard as the just due of American soldiers were provided for the veterans of the war with Spain. They were mustered out without bonus or separation pay. They were given no educational or vocational training rights. They were brought under no pension system until 1933, and they were not even provided with hospital care for service-connected disabilities until some 24 years after the end of the conflict.

The fact that many of these wrongs were ultimately corrected was due in large measure to the efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, an organization which was founded by veterans of the war with Spain. Their campaign to obtain justice for the veterans of this war has made a significant contribution to the welfare of the veterans of all our conflicts.

So, this February 15 is not only an anniversary of a great national loss; it also marks the beginning of the modern era in American life. It serves as a reminder of how much we owe to our young men in uniform.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, we celebrate today a mournful anniversary of an event which brought this Nation into war. We celebrate as well, the valiant and brave spirit of the men who undertook to defend our flag in that conflict.

It began with the sudden explosion on board a battleship, and the American people then took up the battlecry: "Remember the *Maine*." To those who served, and especially to our gallant colleague from Illinois, we owe our tributes this day.

I sought to recall, when I was considering this memorial, the story of that battleship, and so I asked and received this following brief account, of an hour we must all have studied:

THE 67TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LOSS OF THE BATTLESHIP "MAINE"

The U.S. battleship *Maine* left the fleet at Key West on January 25, 1898, and proceeded to Havana, Cuba. The *Maine*, rated as a battleship of the second class, carried four 10-inch guns, two in the forward and two in the after turret, six 6-inch guns, and a number of 6- and 1-pounders. Her commander was Capt. C. D. Sigsbee, and there were 328 men on her rolls in addition to a regular complement of officers.

The night of February 15, 1898, was hot and sultry. The *Maine* had swung around to an unusual position at the buoy to which she had been assigned by the Spanish port officials; she had happened to take the position

she would have adopted had there been an intention to shell the harbor forts. Such was never her intention.

The usual routine was observed. The chief engineer reported his department secure; the various petty officers reported their store-rooms secure. Eight o'clock lights and galley fires were reported out, and the ship's lieutenant commander reported to the captain that everything was secure. At 9, the officer of the deck mustered the watch, and made sure the men knew their stations in the event of an alarm. The captain was writing in his cabin. Most of the men were asleep.

At 40 minutes past 9 o'clock, the battleship *Maine*, exploding, rose up out of Havana Harbor in a burst of fire and smoke. The detonation shook Havana from one side to another. A rain of debris and the bodies of dead and wounded men fell back into the waters of the bay. Two hundred and fifty-four lives were lost that night, seven of the wounded later died, and many more of the wounded were crippled for life.

A Member of this House shortly afterward spoke thus of them: "No foe had ever challenged them. The world can never know how brave they were. They never knew defeat; they never shall. Meanwhile a patient and patriotic people, enlightened by the lessons of our history, remembering the woes of war, both to the vanquished and victorious, are ready for the truth and ready for their duty."

Now, as then, Americans "Remember the *Maine*."

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my able and good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA] for again taking note of this special anniversary occasion.

I believe it was President Kennedy who said that a knowledge of the past prepares us for the crisis of the present and the challenge of the future. The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, founded, as the gentleman has said, by the Spanish War Veterans, has contributed beyond measure to the strength and security of these beloved United States and to the promotion among our people of a high sense of patriotism and devotion to national duty.

So I take pleasure in joining in this public note of the good work of the Spanish War Veterans and the Veterans of Foreign Wars and of the gentleman from Illinois in taking the leadership in bringing this to the attention of the House and the country. I felicitate the gentleman and wish him the continued privilege.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, today, in the midst of international turmoil, we pause to recall another moment, immediately preceding the turn of the century, when our Nation, then as now, stood face to face with both violence and destiny.

Just as we, today, view with shock and alarm the aggressive and destructive policies of Red China and the Vietcong, so, 67 years ago, Americans were shocked and alarmed by the outrageous policies of royal Spain. From the close of the Civil War through the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's, Spanish and American shipping engaged in the fiercest kind of commercial rivalry. Moreover, from 1868 to 1878 the Spanish Government endeavored, unsuccessfully, to put down rebellion on the island of Cuba, knowing full well, as they did so, that the Amer-

ican people wanted Cuba to be free. Consequently, when the war for Cuban independence was revived, in 1895, the Spanish authorities regarded the United States as a party to the act, in spirit if not in deed.

With all this in the background, the American Government endeavored, nonetheless, to keep the peace with Spain and, in January, 1898, the second-class battleship *Maine* was ordered from Key West to Havana on a friendly visit. For 3 weeks the ship lay moored in Havana Harbor. Then, on February 15, at 9:40 p.m., two explosions rocked the harbor, and the *Maine* was blown sky high. Two hundred and sixty Americans gave their lives in the tragedy, and virtually the next moment, the United States and Spain were at war.

The sinking of the battleship *Maine* set in motion a series of events which catapulted this Nation to the front rank of world power. It immediately resulted in war with Spain, thereby testing for the first time the mettle of American men in battle on foreign soil, fighting a wholly different variety of manifest destiny.

The consequences of that war are still with us. And the bravery and sense of adventure which characterized our troop forces in that war form a memorable part of our national heritage.

With the 67th anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*, it is appropriate that we contemplate this period in American life, the turn of the century, for I think it is full of meaning and pregnant with lessons which today yearns for a closer hearing.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, 67 years ago tonight, on February 15, 1898, at 9:40 p.m., 266 American servicemen lost their lives in defense of freedom when the battleship *Maine* was blown up in Cuba's Havana Harbor.

Sixty-seven years ago—this was before most of the Members of this great body were even born. To most Americans today, unfortunately, this event is nothing but a dimly recollected passage in a high school American history book, an event which caused a war that was over in less than 3 months. Names like Capt. Charles Sigbee, Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, Chickamauga and San Juan Hill stir vague memories, perhaps, but bring no feelings of pride, or anger, or grief.

But 67 years ago, "Remember the *Maine*" was the rallying cry of a nation, battle cry of an army, the victory cry of freedom. It was the "Remember the Alamo" of later years, the "Remember Pearl Harbor" of earlier years. Five weeks after the *Maine* was sunk, the President issued a call for 125,000 volunteers. More than 1 million took up this call to arms, and answered. And these men were volunteers—they served longer than the boys of World War I, and at one-half the pay. Their death losses were, percentage-wise, six times those of the World War I soldiers. They received none of the insurance benefits, separation pay or pensions that subsequent veterans have received. And these men volunteered, remember, in the days before there was a compulsory draft law. They were poorly fed and poorly equipped and poorly organized. Yet

these men, representing this country, never lost a battle, never suffered a reverse, never retreated once. This war has gone down in history as a relatively "minor and easy" one, because we won so quickly. But gentlemen, we were fighting Spain—a nation that at that time was considered to be one of the four great national powers of the world.

And indeed, our victory there resulted in more than an assurance of continued peace and freedom in the Western Hemisphere. It mended the rift caused by the Civil War. Once more American boys, both northern and southern, were united in a cause, fighting side-by-side in defense of liberty. And the victory paved the way for the construction of the Panama Canal, which every nation has since benefited from. We let the rest of the world know that the United States of America was now a power to be reckoned with, a power that would not idly stand by while a strong nation oppressed a weaker one. And now, 67 years later, the world still knows this, for many of our boys still lie in faraway places like Guam and Okinawa and France, and across the Potomac in Arlington, boys who like those back in 1898, died preserving the rights of other peace-loving nations, and other freedom-loving peoples. The lessons we learned in the Spanish-American War saved the life of many an American soldier in World Wars I and II.

So, as we drift off to sleep tonight, gentlemen, let us remember that ours is a better America today, a stronger America today, and ours is a better world today, a more peaceful and free world today, because of the brave battles of a brave country 67 years ago, and let us say a prayer for those 266 men who died on the battleship *Maine*.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, 67 years ago in the spring of 1898, Americans trooped off to war. They went into that war with a slogan "Remember the *Maine*" ringing from their lips.

Today Mr. Speaker, we mark the 67th anniversary of the tragic event that gave birth to that phrase. While moored in the waters of Havana Harbor, the battleship *Maine* was rocked by an explosion and sunk and the United States was plunged into a war with Spain.

That February 15, Mr. Speaker, was a tragic and fateful day for the sinking of the *Maine* was an act of destruction and death.

A naval court of inquiry convened by Rear Adm. Montgomery Sicard found:

The destruction of the *Maine* occurred at 9:40 p.m. on the 15th day of February, 1898, in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, she being at the time moored to the same buoy to which she had been taken upon her arrival. There were two explosions of a distinctly different character, with a very short but distinct interval between them, and the forward part of the ship was lifted to a marked degree at the time of the first explosion. The first explosion was more in the nature of a report like that of a gun while the second explosion was more open, prolonged, and of greater volume. This second explosion was, in the opinion of the court, caused by the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines of the *Maine*.

The court finds that the loss of the *Maine*

on the occasion named was not in any respect due to fault or negligence on the part of the officers or members of the crew of said vessel. In the opinion of the court, the *Maine* was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines. The court has been unable to obtain evidence fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the *Maine* upon any person or persons.

The Spanish Government had a different opinion, on March 22, 1898, its naval board of inquiry found:

That the important facts connected with the explosion in its external appearance at every moment of its duration having been described by witnesses, and the absence of all circumstances which necessarily accompany the explosion of a torpedo having been proved by these witnesses and experts, it can only be honestly asserted that the catastrophe was due to internal causes.

The list of the *Maine* dead covers three pages printed in very small type. On that tragic night 67 years ago, 254 lives were lost, 7 wounded men died a short time later, and many of the wounded suffered from the effects of their injuries for the rest of their lives.

Spanish-American War Veterans have traditionally observed February 15 with appropriate ceremonies. They have cause for great pride in their own completely voluntary service. There was no draft in their war. Since serving their country so well as patriotic young men, their ranks have grown thin.

Mr. Speaker, on this anniversary of the loss of the *Maine*, we salute the veterans of the Spanish-American War and pay our tribute to the memory of their comrades.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, 67 years ago today the Nation was horrified by the news that the *Maine* had been sunk in Havana Harbor. On a peaceful Tuesday evening the great battleship was torn apart by a terrific explosion that cost the lives of 260 officers and men.

The *Maine*, a second-class battleship built at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, was launched on November 18, 1890, and commissioned on September 17, 1895. Although she was small compared to modern warships, in her day the *Maine* was formidable. She was 324 feet long and 57 feet at the beam, and had a displacement of 6,650 tons. Her armament consisted of four 10-inch guns, six 6-inch breech-loading rifles, seven 6-pounder rapid-fire guns, eight 1-pounders, and four Gatling machineguns. In addition, she had tubes for four torpedoes.

Hostilities had broken out again in Cuba in 1895 after a decade of relative tranquility. As the situation grew steadily worse, the American people were moved by a deep sympathy for the Cubans who were engaged in a long struggle for liberty. On January 24, 1898, the *Maine* was ordered to Havana, ostensibly "to resume the friendly naval visits at Cuban ports." The actual purpose was to protect U.S. citizens who might be endangered by the increasing friction between the United States and Spain.

At 11 a.m. on January 25, the *Maine* steamed in past Morro Castle. The customary salutes were fired and the *Maine*



proceeded into the harbor and dropped anchor where the harbor master directed. A trained investigator might have detected an undercurrent of feeling, but official calls were made and the social amenities were observed. For 3 weeks no untoward incident occurred.

Then, at 9:40 p.m. on February 15, two explosions threw parts of the ship 200 feet in the air and illuminated the whole harbor.

Reports of the disaster were received in the United States with consternation. Accusations against the Spaniards were freely expressed in certain American newspapers. Most Americans held Spain responsible, although the evidence was never sufficient to fix the blame officially. Some 2 months later came the Spanish-American War which was to mark the collapse of the Spanish Empire and the emergence of the United States as a world power.

Referring to the slogan, "Remember the *Maine*," Captain Sigsbee, the commander of the ship, later had this to say:

Therefore I conceive the motto, "Remember the *Maine*" used as a war cry would not have been justifiable. Improperly applied, the motto \* \* \* savors too much of revenge \* \* \* but it may be used in an entirely worthy sense. During the recent war with Spain about 75 men were killed and wounded in the U.S. Navy. Only 17 were killed. On board the *Maine* 252 men were killed outright and 8 died later—nearly 15 times as many as were killed in the U.S. Navy by the Spanish land and naval forces during the entire war. In the way that the men of the *Maine* died and suffered there was enough of the heroic to provide a sound foundation for the motto, "Remember the *Maine*."

It is in this way that we, in our observance here today, seek to "Remember the *Maine*."

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 67 years ago these headlines flashed across my home State of New York, "*Maine Blown to Atoms in Havana Harbor: Over 100 of Her Crew Killed. Three-million-dollar Battleship Destroyed by a Terrific and Mysterious Explosion While Her Men Are Sleeping.*"

Today, on the anniversary of this disaster, we remember that it was this news which ignited the sympathies of the American people and which pushes a long series of events toward a climax. On April 25, 1898, the United States declared war against Spain and the Spanish-American War began. And it began, said President McKinley, "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests."

The actual cause of the destruction of the *Maine* remains now as it was then a mystery. No conclusive proof has ever been produced which could definitely fix the blame in the tragedy. But in 1898, as the news spread that 260 American officers and crewmen had lost their lives and as some newspapers freely accused Spanish agents of responsibility, public opinion, already in strong and open sympathy with Cuban patriots, crystallized into the slogan: "Remember the *Maine*."

For years, the Cuban people had sought to throw off Spanish misrule and oppression. They had engaged in a heroic but unsuccessful effort for independ-

ence between 1868 and 1878, the Ten Years' War. During that revolution the American people, though strongly sympathetic to the Cuban cause, had only given expressions of support.

But in 1895, when revolution broke out anew against the continuing corruption of the Spanish administration, the people of the United States showed increasing alarm. From the beginning, the struggle in Cuba took on aspects of ferocity that horrified Americans. Vivid accounts were reported to the public in a theretofore unprecedented era of journalistic coverage.

The extreme methods of coercion used by Gen. Valeriano Weyler—or "Butcher" Weyler, as he soon came to be called by the press—were well known. Americans watched helplessly as he, in an attempt to stamp out the Cuban guerrilla forces, ordered the entire civilian population of certain areas confined to concentration camps. There, they died by the thousands, victims of disease, malnutrition, and atrocities.

Against this background, it is not surprising that when the battleship *Maine* exploded a white-hot wave of anger gripped the American people. Within a few short months, 1 million of the young men of this country had volunteered to fight side by side with the Cuban patriots until the despotism of Spain could be removed from that island.

There are some who seek to detract from the American contribution to the Cuban cause, but, as an editorial from the Havana Post of 1959 states:

There can be no successful mutilation of the history of Cuban and U.S. allied cooperation in the war of independence. \* \* \* One has only to see those names on the bronze plaques on San Juan Hill, just outside Santiago, to know the extent of the aid given the cause by the United States.

On those plaques, one finds inscribed the names of Americans from every State of the Union who gave for the cause of Cuba the most that any man can give for any cause. They gave their lives.

Today, we pay tribute to the idealistic and courageous young men who fought for and gave their lives for the freedom and independence of a neighboring people. We pay special tribute, also to the valor and the patience of the Cuban people who have found it necessary to struggle almost continually over the years for their liberties.

And today, a black cloud is again heavy over this beautiful Caribbean island. Its people again know the horrors of tyranny. Again, they are showing courage and heroism in their struggle against it. Today, as we remember the *Maine* of 67 years ago, let us also remember the present.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, throughout our history, America has responded to acts of aggression with a special courage, decisiveness and will to succeed which have become legendary in the annals of the defense of liberty.

Regardless of the strength of our opponents, those who have challenged us have been defeated or deterred. We have often succeeded in making allies of former enemies; individuals and governments wise enough to join in the ancient and enduring struggle for peace and liberty.

America, itself, symbolizes many things to the people of the earth. Of all these symbols, perhaps our greatest strength lies in our ability to sustain countless irresponsible acts and errors of statesmanship with patience and prevailing wisdom. However, foolishly unmindful of our determination to defend our freedom, other nations have on occasion misjudged our patience for cowardice and indecision.

Such an error in judgment led Spain into believing we would not defend our interests in the Caribbean. On February 15, 1898, the Battleship *Maine* was sunk in Havana Harbor. And before the world had time to digest the news, the United States had reacted swiftly, surely and with great strength. Our war with Spain involved some of the bloodiest and most individually gallant sacrifices in our history, yet they were in our American tradition and, in the end, our just cause prevailed.

Although some 67 years have passed, we have continued to demonstrate our strength and our determination never to yield when the price is the loss of liberty for ourselves or our allies. Those in other nations who would wish us ill had best be reminded of our willingness to bear any burden to secure liberty for all those men who seek it and who will join in fighting alongside us to obtain it.

The men who fought at San Juan Hill, at Bunker Hill, at Pork Chop Hill earned us the right to live in peace with one another and the world. We would do them a grave injustice if we failed in our historic defense of the self-determination all men seek in their hearts.

On this 67th anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*, it is an honor to stand with my colleagues and fellow citizens in commemorating the heroism and the love of justice which have made our country the bulwark of freedom throughout the world.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this subject.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

#### THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND AMERICAN DEFENSE POLICY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HAWKINS). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. EDMONDSON) is recognized for 20 minutes.

(Mr. EDMONDSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the past week has served to bring home forcefully the hard and bitter truth that our country is engaged in war in Vietnam.

It has been apparent for some time that our Government's stake in the sav-

age struggle in Vietnam is a major one, with more than 23,000 American officers and men engaged in assisting the forces of South Vietnam, at a daily cost in excess of \$2 million.

On February 6, Vietcong guerrilla forces entered an American air base at Pleiku and blasted planes, helicopters, and barracks on the base, leaving 8 of our enlisted men dead and more than 125 wounded.

The following day, the President of the United States ordered an air strike against military targets in North Vietnam, and fighter bombers from three of our carriers were involved in action more than 50 miles north of the 17th parallel, which divides North and South Vietnam.

The President proceeded to order the withdrawal of 1,800 American dependents from Vietnam, and declared on behalf of our Government:

We have no choice now but to clear the decks and make absolutely clear our continued determination to back South Vietnam in its fight to maintain its independence.

In the days which have followed that presidential announcement, Vietcong forces have engaged in another savage attack upon quarters occupied by American forces, inflicting heavy casualties and bringing the total number of Americans dead by Vietcong action to nearly 300.

In response to the enemy attack of February 9, 160 planes of the United States and South Vietnam joined in the largest aerial attack of the long conflict, striking at a series of supply depots and military barracks north of the 17th parallel.

The scope of the massive air strike on February 10, in which more than 100 planes from American carriers at sea joined fighter-bombers of the American Air Force and those of South Vietnam, spoke far more effectively than mere words of this Nation's "continued determination."

#### HOMEFRONT QUESTIONS

In the wake of an unquestioned escalation of military action during the past week, many Americans were asking searching questions—both publicly and privately—concerning the course of the war.

With regard to the central aim of our presence in Vietnam, the President has left no room for reasonable doubt. He has said publicly that he considers it "essential" to American interests to defeat the Communist aggression against South Vietnam. He has declared his conviction that our failure there "would convince every nation in south Asia that it must now bow to Communist terms to survive."

Notwithstanding these strong words, with their clear commitment of U.S. prestige as declared by the Nation's Chief Executive, the charge is now heard in more than one quarter that the extent and validity of that commitment remain uncertain and ill-defined.

In the New York Times for Sunday, February 14, 1965, both Arthur Krock and James Reston have voiced their protest over White House failure to "make things clear" and to advise of "plans to meet whatever contingencies may arise

from the new U.S. policy of immediate and increasingly powerful military reprisal."

Mr. Krock and Mr. Reston were chiefly concerned with the absence of information and knowledge at home concerning the depth and breadth of our Vietnam commitment.

Other competent observers, however, have been even more concerned about the effect of uncertainty in the Communist world.

Writing in the Washington Post for February 14, 1965, Donald S. Zagoria—in an article entitled, "Communists Doubt Our Will in Vietnam"—reported as follows:

The Communists have long believed that the United States would not have the patience or will to stick out the war and recent statements by influential Americans calling for negotiation and/or withdrawal almost certainly increased their optimism. They have all along eagerly seized on any American statements urging negotiation and withdrawal. In the past 6 months, several prominent American Senators, columnists, and newspapers have called for negotiations and, in the absence of a clear-cut policy, rumors developed that the administration was in favor of negotiation.

All this doubtless strongly reinforced the Communist belief that victory in South Vietnam was close at hand.

In the opinion of Mr. Zagoria, "two bombing attacks will not suffice" as sufficient pressure "to bring a reluctant Ho Chi Minh to the conference table."

They will not so easily give up at the conference table what they have fought so hard and so long on the battlefield to achieve, and at a time when final victory seems near—

Mr. Zagoria concludes.

A member of Columbia University's Research Institute on Communist Affairs and the author of "The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956-61," Mr. Zagoria has impressive credentials as a commentator on Communism; thinking. His conclusion that the Communists question our will and determination in Vietnam may well provide the key to understanding of Vietcong policy.

Mr. Roscoe Drummond, also writing in the Washington Post on February 14, shares the view that American policy statements "have not persuaded the Asian Communists the United States really believes that turning back the aggression against South Vietnam is essential. Or that we intend to do whatever is necessary to see that this aggression will not be defeated."

The reason is—

Writes Mr. Drummond—

that actions, not words, make policy believable to the enemy. Our actions in Vietnam have not equaled our words. We have treated this war as though winning it were essential to South Vietnam but not essential to the United States. We have for the most part permitted North Vietnam to practice aggression and enjoy immunity. Secretary Rusk once gave a somber cease-and-desist-or-else warning. When it was not heeded, we did nothing.

Up until the last week, Mr. Speaker, that was more or less the situation, and the plain truth about the impression which we had created in Asia concerning our policy in Vietnam. We were send-

ing thousands of men, and spending millions of dollars, but we were not convincing the Communists of our intention to do everything necessary to defeat aggression in Vietnam.

#### CHANGE IN DIRECTION

Now, in the words of Mr. Drummond, "something more is being done."

We have undoubtedly convinced the Communists in North Vietnam of our intention and readiness to hit, and hit very hard indeed, when American military forces in Vietnam are attacked directly by the Vietcong. We have made it very clear that North Vietnam is not a privileged sanctuary, and we have demonstrated that our forces are not afraid to cross the 17th parallel.

Without question, we have also impressed the Communists of Asia with the quality and effectiveness of American air forces—both land and sea-based—and of the rising quality and effectiveness of the air force of South Vietnam.

Finally, and notwithstanding some critics, President Johnson has undoubtedly rallied the support of an overwhelming majority of his fellow citizens in support of his policies of the past week.

In the Congress, leaders of both parties have spoken out strongly in support of the air strikes on North Vietnam.

In the press, editorial comment across the Nation has generally approved, and most have agreed with the Seattle Times that the President "has the overwhelming support of the American people."

Even Mr. Reston, in his largely critical column, declared that "very few people here question the necessity for a limited expansion of the war by U.S. bombers into Communist territory."

And yet, while there is general agreement that the situation in Vietnam has entered a radically new phase, I have not found a single authority who believes the bombing attacks of last week will result in early conclusion of the long and bloody conflict—either by military victory or the conference table.

On the contrary, Mr. Zagoria is emphatic in the belief that "persistent and heavy pressure" must be brought to bear against the North, and offers the view that "positive incentives"—both economic and diplomatic—should also be offered as an alternative to widespread destruction in North Vietnam.

Mr. Drummond is convinced that we must make it clear that we are prepared to participate in joint air strikes with the forces of South Vietnam in response to Vietcong attacks upon Vietnamese forces, as well as in response to attacks upon Americans. Such a willingness is indispensable to our relations with South Vietnam, and would make even more clear our determination to halt Communist aggression in that country.

The Drummond view on this last point is shared by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, writing from on the scene in Saigon, who say our relationship with Vietnamese forces in the field is at stake in the decision to use our planes to counter attacks upon the forces of South Vietnam.

Unless our "forward strategy" of the past week is "continued and intensified," in the view of these Saigon observers,

tomers this extremely important question: Would we, and our country as a whole, be better off if the railroads (and, possibly, the other public carriers) were nationalized?

On the shippers' answer to that question, rather than on the contentions of a group of sulking and possibly vindictive labor union leaders, the Federal lawmakers should base their decision for or against nationalization, if and when proposed legislation is introduced in Congress to implement the recent agreement, by a "unanimous majority" of the members of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, to press for Government ownership of the U.S. railroads.

In a Federal administration that in more than one way has revealed pro-labor-union leanings, any proposal that has the backing of several labor organizations must be regarded as "strongly backed." For that reason, Traffic World proceeded, shortly after the RLEA announcement of advocacy of railroad nationalization, to mail questionnaires to industrial and commercial traffic executives on the Traffic World subscription list, asking them to state their views on the railroad nationalization issue. We were a bit reluctant to send out this questionnaire because we realize that many good citizens are generally hostile to the idea of filling out questionnaires. However, we were at the same time hopeful that the questionnaire returns would be numerous enough to reflect adequately the attitude of a substantial majority of the principal transportation-service users of this country toward substitution of public ownership for private ownership of the American railroads.

None of us in the editorial department of this magazine, not even the editorial associate who promoted and devised the questionnaire, dared to predict that the percentage of questionnaire returns would be half as large as it actually was. The questionnaires were mailed to 5,500 of our subscribers. The morning of February 11 the returns totaled 2,467—and more were received with each mail delivery. Checking of the answers revealed the significant fact that more than 96 percent of the friends of Traffic World who filled out and returned the questionnaires were firmly opposed to the placing of the railroads in the Government's hands. All but a few of these respondents (as shown in our report on the questionnaire returns, on other pages of this issue) stated explicitly their reasons for opposing nationalization of the rail carriers.

To all the Traffic World readers who responded so promptly and helpfully in this referendum by mail we say, "Thank you very much. We feel sure that if and when the nationalization issue is brought out into the open on Capitol Hill, the opinions you have expressed, anonymously but clearly and forcefully, will help the legislators to make the right decision."

In a speech in Cleveland, February 4, Dean George P. Baker, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, who is chairman of the TAA board of directors, specified five good reasons for junking the nationalization proposal which, he said, would be "a national disaster if implemented."

These would be the disastrous results of nationalization of the railroads, Dean Baker asserts:

1. Government monopoly would be substituted for the private competition upheld and advocated by President Johnson and the late President Kennedy.

2. The cost (to the taxpayers) of nationalizing the railroads would be at least \$50 billion, and the taxes now paid by the railroads would be lost to the Government.

3. Bargaining issues in dispute between rail labor unions and the owner-manager of the railroads (the Government) would be converted into political footballs.

4. By nationalizing an industry that has operated long and successfully as a part of the American private enterprise system, we would be making a false confession of weakness of our capitalistic system.

5. Nationalization of one large industry would be likely to cause public indifference to, or acceptance of, proposals for nationalization of other modes of transportation and other key industries, and the United States would be converted from a capitalistic to a socialistic country.

In May 1963, Eugene Landis, the director of transportation of the International Minerals & Chemicals Corp., made a speech in Jacksonville in which he satirically envisioned some transportation news stories that might be published in 1970 if the railroads were to be nationalized. He read an imaginary "dispatch" about issuance by the Director General of the Federal Railway System of a temporary order making a 12-hour demurrage rule effective immediately, "because of the backup of train shipments at the east coast ports." Other imaginary "dispatches" that he read pertained to establishment of a new rate structure "based on the 435 newly created Federal Railway districts"; the subsequent cancellation of that "module rate system" after a flood of protests against it; a critical car shortage, and ultimate denationalization of the railroads, in order to clear up the mess resulting from Federal ownership.

Mr. Landis and many other traffic executives and defenders of private enterprise aver that Government ownership of the for-hire carriers would be inefficient and costly. They and we are in hearty agreement with the opinion written by one of the respondents in our referendum by mail:

"I don't believe Uncle Sam could run a peanut stand and come out even."

#### CUBA AND FIDEL CASTRO—ADDRESS BY MISS JUANITA CASTRO

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, early last year the world was startled by the news that Fidel Castro's sister, Miss Juanita Castro, had defected to Mexico, and that her first action was to go on the air to denounce the Castro regime for what it had done to the Cuban people and for what it planned to do to the peoples of the Americas.

Since her defection, Juanita Castro has been an indefatigable speaker against Castro tyranny. No one has warned more eloquently or more stubbornly than she against the danger of doing nothing about Castro.

In a speech which Miss Castro delivered before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, on February 8, she made several statements which I wish to call to the attention of the Senate.

About Fidel, Juanita Castro said the following:

After studying Fidel closely, I am sure that we are in the presence of another Hitler. If Fidel had at his disposal the enormous resources which were Hitler's, humanity would already be deeply entrenched in world war III. Fidel's hatred is aimed not only against the United States but also against all of his fellow men. It does not matter to him that he may bring catastrophe to the nations of the hemisphere so long as he is able to satisfy his brutal ambition of conquering and dominating the continent.

About Fidel Castro's plans for Latin America, Jaunita Castro said that she had heard her brother utter these words:

If we train but 300 men to act as group leaders in each country, we will have enough to explode the Socialist revolution volcano in Latin America. If to this we add the militant and/or nonmilitant Marxist-Leninists in all Latin America who will act as a fifth column, as well as the other elements which, through contagion, economic, or social frustration, political ambition—either left or right—are conditioned to join an insurrectional movement, Soviet rockets will not be needed in the takeover of the entire continent.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of Miss Castro's statement be printed in the RECORD, at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH PRONOUNCED BY MISS JUANITA CASTRO ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1965, IN LOS ANGELES, CALIF., BEFORE MEMBERS OF LOS ANGELES WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL

Distinguished members of the Los Angeles Council for World Affairs, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity you have given me to come to this meeting and speak of the heart breaking facts which my country is facing. I am also taking advantage of this occasion to present my personal testimony on the now historical treason which has been perpetrated against my homeland, a treason which continues even now trying to stamp out all democratic forces on the island of Cuba as well as those of all other nations of this American Continent. The United States, indirectly, is the very special target of this carefully conceived action.

The full realization of the goals of my brother, Fidel, came to me very slowly while I was still in Cuba. But, as I watched the monstrous plans being put into effect, first against defenseless Latin American countries and then against the United States itself, I could not stand the torment which took hold of me for I could see the tragic destiny which had befallen my country and was now threatening other peaceful and trusting peoples.

I suffered through endless days and nights of indescribable anguish. I was only able to share my fears with my poor, late mother, and her pain was indeed great as she watched her sons (and I watched my brothers) dragging our nation to the brink of destruction, betraying our people, and preparing to do the same to other nations.

As I listened to their planning and watched how things developed and I realized the inhumanity and treachery which existed, the decision that I had to make became extremely clear. My Christian upbringing certainly aided me greatly in making my choice. And what were my alternatives? God and my country or an aggressive military bloc (such as is the Sino-Soviet one). The traditional feeling of brotherhood which has always existed among all the nations of this continent is being threatened by a sinister conspiracy which flows simultaneously from Moscow, Havana and Peking. From these strategic positions the intrinsically perverse nature of international communism, which was, is and always shall be one and the same, regardless of what form it may take or of how peculiar circumstances may tend to conceal the ultimate goal which is world domination. To most, it seems that this goal is being attained through two methods: the Soviet Union's coexistence and Red China's violence. The target of either one, however, is the Christian civilization of democratic countries.

I make these statements because I have ample and well-founded reasons. I was an eyewitness to the facts and plans that substantiate my conclusions.

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number of individuals contacted, can be made.

Traffic World's survey resulted in a return of 44.8 percent, a figure considered "quite high" by professional polltakers. Thus, by projection, it may be said that only 3.1 percent or slightly over 3 out of every 100 of the Nation's professional shippers or shipper-oriented officials are in favor of nationalization of the railroad industry.

The 3.1 percentage figure has elicited expressions of surprise and satisfaction.

Expressing surprise at the figure as "higher than anticipated" were various officials of the ICC, professional shipper organizations, and Traffic World's senior editors, all of whom have been in close association with the shipping public for more than 20 years. Expressing satisfaction with the 3.1 figure were various railroad executives, one of whom, contrasting the 3.1 figure with the 10-percent figure developed through the AAR's general public survey, said:

"It's about what we would expect from an informed group. The men who were contacted are the Nation's real pros when it comes to shipping. Naturally, they would be in the best position to judge—and emphatically reject—a nationalized rail system."

Insofar as corporate size is concerned, the "largest" traffic executive answering Traffic World's survey and the "largest" shipper to state opposition to rail nationalization pays about \$350 million a year for railroad service. The "largest" shipper favoring nationalization pays about \$15 million a year for rail service.

More than 90 percent of the individuals replying to the survey took the trouble and time to comment on their views.

Among those opposed to rail nationalization, comments ranged from a single word—"ridiculous"—to a two-page typewritten letter. Several shippers also commented less directly by furnishing speeches or articles written by them in recent years in opposition to railroad nationalization.

Among those favoring nationalization, comment ranged from three words—"poor rail management"—to four typewritten paragraphs.

The basic thread of complaint running through the comments of those shippers who favor rail nationalization is the "failure" of railroad management to provide adequate service, particularly to the small shipper. This complaint is expressed in various ways, but the following comment from a shipper of manufactured products spending about \$9 million a year for rail service illustrates general views expressed by those shippers favoring nationalization.

"It has become increasingly and painfully obvious that the management of the railroads is inadequate, untrained, and quite unequipped to cope with the problems confronting it today.

"During the past several years, there have been signs of desire by railroads to modernize their management, but these efforts are much too little and too late. Therefore, the situation couldn't be much worse under Government ownership and operation than it is—and has been—under private operation and management."

"My specific complaint (or, I should say, major complaint) concerns the fact that the wishes and desires of railroad customers (expressions of which are constantly solicited by railroad sales representatives) are not acted upon. There is no consistent evidence of a desire to run the railroads according to the needs and wishes of the customers. What evidence there is in this area is transitory and sporadic.

"Furthermore, let us not overlook the fact—that despite much obvious effort on the part of railroads in this country to paint a grim picture—the fact remains that Govern-

ment ownership and operation of railroads in many other countries (with similar density of traffic and similar problems) does work and work well. It accordingly follows, even granting the dreadful inefficiencies, graft, and indolence rampant in our Government today, that it [nationalization] is worth a try."

Such views run counter to the beliefs expressed by those shippers who oppose rail nationalization. Most (but not all) of these shippers feel rail management is doing an adequate job or, at least, beginning to do an adequate job. Most feel that rail service is adequate and improving and that Government ownership and operation of the rail system would provide the shipping public only with poorer service.

Spanning virtually all of the wide-ranging views of those shippers opposed to nationalization and offering rail labor a novel suggestion is this comment from a shipper of building products who spends about \$5 million a year for rail service:

"As an industrial traffic manager, I feel that the disadvantages would far outweigh the advantages that might be secured through nationalization of the Nation's railroads. Off hand, the only advantage to the shipping public that I can possibly see would be the elimination of strikes and threats of strikes. While this problem is serious, there is no guarantee that nationalization of the railroads will completely eliminate strikes. I note that the nationalized railroads in France recently underwent a brief strike.

"The disadvantages of a state-owned railroad system are many and are serious. There is ample background for studying the effects of nationalized railroad systems in countries all over the world. In nearly every country, these railroad systems operate at a tremendous deficit. In this country our own Post Office Department is not able to break even and constantly suffers at the hands of privately owned competitors who must keep their charges at or below the Post Office level, provide as good or better service, and pay taxes. In short, there is no reason at all to expect that a nationalized railroad system would not almost immediately become a drain on the general tax income of the Government. Not only will the railroads begin to drain away national tax funds, but, by being nationalized, they will destroy sources of tax income to State and local governments. In some areas of the country, some units of local government are heavily dependent upon railroad property taxes.

"Once the railroads are operated from Washington on the basis that there is no need to attract traffic, I am fearful that the service will deteriorate badly. Railroad service in many parts of the country is extremely poor now, but I shudder to think what would happen if there were no incentives at all to provide satisfactory service.

"The nationalization of the Nation's railroads cannot help but lead to the nationalization of the inland waterway industry, the airlines, and so on. Will this eventually lead to the nationalization of kiddie rides at the local park?

"Union management obviously is frustrated by the fact that the number of railroad jobs has declined over the past 2 years and continues to decline. They also are frustrated because railroad management appears to be stiffening its stand on concessions to union employees. This is particularly true in those cases where certain employees are totally unnecessary or the work performed is not actually required.

"Union management bases its suggestion for nationalization on the premise that the current owners of the railroads are not looking out for the general interests of the public. Inasmuch as the union leaders have recognized this 'great fault' of the present owners of the railroads, perhaps they are prepared

to undertake to manage railroads more effectively. I would suggest that the unions raise funds among their own members and purchase one of the railroads, particularly one in the east that is in serious financial difficulty. I suggest the eastern part of the United States because of the very heavy truck competition and so that the new management of the railroad would be faced with the problem of immediately cutting costs and improving service in order to hold on to the last remaining bit of traffic now moving by railroad.

"From my remarks, I am sure that you can see that at least this industrial traffic manager—and I am sure nearly everyone in my position in industry—is very much opposed to the nationalization of the railroads."

Among those executives contacted by Traffic World were several Canadian shippers who regularly deal with Canada's nationalized railway and its privately owned railway. These Canadian views, although not tabulated as part of Traffic World's survey, are interesting in that every Canadian shipper expressed opposition to the nationalization of U.S. railroads. Illustrating the Canadian viewpoint are these comments:

From a shipper of manufactured products spending about \$10 million a year for rail service:

"Government control of railways in Great Britain resulted in a worsening financial position. Government control in Canada involves millions in subsidies yet Canadian National Railways continues to show red figures."

From a shipper of petroleum spending "some millions" each year for rail service:

"We are Canadian shippers. The Canadian National Railways, our Government-owned railway system, has become an efficient, progressive organization, but due—at least in part—to its privately owned competitor, the Canadian Pacific Railway."

To recapitulate the results of Traffic World's survey:

The Nation's professional shippers—corporate executives who deal most directly with railroads and, thus, are obviously in the best position to judge the merits of railroad nationalization—are emphatically opposed to such a step because they believe the Government could not provide them with efficient service at reasonable cost. Perhaps the objections of the Nation's professional shippers to rail nationalization is best summed up in this blunt comment from one of them:

"It is my belief that one of the worst things that could happen to the transportation system of our country is for the operation of the railroads to be taken over by the Federal Government.

"I don't believe Uncle Sam could run a peanut stand and come out even."

[From Traffic World magazine, Feb. 13, 1965]

#### PRIVATELY OWNED TRANSPORT WELL DEFENDED

Users of the services of for-hire carriers of freight in this country are certainly better qualified than other members of the American public to say whether it's desirable to place any mode or all modes of for-hire carriage under Federal Government ownership and operation. Good, reliable transportation service is essential, of course, to satisfactory operation of any establishment that produces, processes, manufacturers, and/or markets the goods that flow in the channels of trade.

And so, to the buyers of transportation, many of whom long have been and still continue to be outspoken critics of the for-hire carriers' performances, a strongly supported proposal that the railroads be taken over by the Federal Government is a matter that puts before the carriers' cus-



This is the story I wish to tell you and all people for, from the moment that I became fully aware of the monstrosity which was being perpetrated, I swore to denounce this fact on all corners of the free world, anywhere where someone is willing to listen to me, willing to consider this lethal danger which threatens humanity. My efforts will not cease until both the governing classes and the people wake up from their lethargy which is based on an erroneous confidence in a strategy inadequate to combat the monstrous Marxist-Leninist conspiracy.

I trust in God for our salvation. I trust in the history of mankind which shows that somehow visionary leaders always appear to enable victory over the forces which would retrograde humanity to a barbarian or slave state.

I believe in the strength of democracy in which I have placed my trust along with millions of souls and this is why I appeal to its moral and material reserves.

Humanity has just lost one of those visionaries who, after offering his people "blood, tears, sweat, and sacrifices," led them on to victory. But many years before the unfortunate day of his death, he clearly identified the new totalitarian menace which he dubbed "the Iron Curtain." Behind this Iron Curtain, as is well known to me and millions of people who have had to live under its slavery, mass killings are an everyday occurrence as are the premeditated and relentless preparations for the death of even more innocent victims and the burial of universal democracy.

Let us do something to stop this crime which hides behind a mask of ideology to confuse those naive souls who search utopian formulas, those useful idiots and those who have been misguided in the placement of their trust.

Let us do more than we are doing because, and I can assure you from personal experience, any effort is too small, only thus can we overcome the monstrous plans which are being formulated to destroy our Christian civilization.

These plans include all countries, both great and small. International communism has prepared a mortal trap for every category, for every nationality, for every power.

He who doubts this, he who thinks that I exaggerate, let him observe and study a map of the world and see the subversive movements and the frontal attacks which international communism has made on the face of that world. There he will find the evidence. In less than half a century, the Sino-Soviet empire has ensnared 38 nations and 1,260 million people who are desperately awaiting liberation but who are impotent to do the job. The Kremlin and Peiping, like armed fanatics, thrust their power against nations who desire nothing but peace and coexistence but not the coexistence which the treacherous Communists describe, for they do not use the definitions that our Christian doctrine or our grammars have taught us.

They cynically classify the dictatorship of a group of opportunists who have developed from the new ruling class as a "dictatorship of the proletariat." For them, tyrannies are "popular democracies." And so on and so forth. We thus can see how the Marxist-Leninist dictionary has completely changed the accepted meanings of words and how the system does not respect human rights.

He who doubts or believes that I exaggerate should try to find an explanation for the Cuban case. How could this have happened? A little island like the island of Cuba; 6 years ago it was militarily insignificant, its population only 7 millions. And look at it today. An arsenal of nuclear weapons aimed at the very heart of the American continent. That Cuba, only 90 miles from the U.S. mainland, has been transformed into an aggressive power by

Communist imperialism was clearly demonstrated in the October 1962 crisis, when the late President, John F. Kennedy, ordered a blockade of the little island.

He who doubts or believes that I exaggerate should ask himself if 6 years ago he would have believed that this little island would one day have one of the most powerful and aggressive armed forces in all of Latin America and that its Government would be cynical enough to state that it would be willing to place all resources at the disposal of forces bent on the destruction of democratic institutions in all the nations of the Americas, thus turning them into carbon copies of the Cuban drama.

I personally was a witness to the formulation of those plans. I shall relate to you some of the facts which came to my personal attention.

With all sincerity, with the clearness of vision necessary to recognize the truth, with the valor which is needed to meet the challenges of the enemy, with the crudeness which the inhumanity of these plans has forced me to use in my efforts to denounce this treason on all corners of the earth, I must say that those who doubt the danger that this aggressive, Communist imperialism holds cannot in any way be a part of the victorious legion who believed in the vision and courage of Winston Churchill. These will pass into history along with Chamberlain's umbrella.

Let us study these plans that I will now explain to you. Let us evaluate the facts and try to draw practical conclusions so as to save this continent and its citizens.

In the month of October of 1960, I located Fidel in one of the many houses which he had appropriated for his personal comfort, and which he used as hideouts in which to plot against those whom he had decided were not being blindly obedient and should be removed. This characteristic of Fidel's is well known to all of his intimate followers. It is a pathological affliction. This particular house was a most elegant one, situated in Cojimar, which is a few miles out of Havana. Fidel let it be known that he lived in this particular house; but very few people actually knew where he would spend any particular night.

Around this date, Fidel no longer even trusted his own personal guard which had been with him since his Sierra Maestra days when the revolution was still on Cuban mountains. The guard was composed of poor, young peasants to whom he despectively referred as the little donkeys because during his many hikes through the mountains they had been forced to follow him, first of all to protect him, and secondly to carry Fidel's knapsacks.

He dropped these young men as soon as he reached Havana and started to choose militant Communist Party members in their place. This, of course, was necessary because the new guard was going to hear only that which would please a Communist. This would not have fallen well on the ears of these farmers who had been promised "justice, bread, and liberty."

One day I observed with great sadness how these peasants who had guarded my brother while he was in the Sierra Maestra Mountains were cast aside. I commented on this to Fidel and he answered: "These little donkeys have to be indoctrinated so that they may learn Marxism. This is why I have given them scholarships and sent them off to study."

That was not Fidel's first inhuman action nor would it be the last. I had seen many signs of it before and the world is now witness to the many which have followed.

I was able to find out that Fidel was silently plotting to turn over all key positions of the revolutionary government to Communist Party agents. Thus he set about, systematically, to displace all veterans of

the revolution in military and government positions.

And so it was that Fidel's partners in arms, his friends who faithfully served under him during the many years of the revolution, those men who had risked their lives within the cities and on the mountains, those who made victory possible on that January 1, 1959, were periodically replaced, upon Fidel Castro's direct orders, by militant members of the Communist Party. These changes were usually made very secretly. The men who were thus advanced into top government jobs had neither sacrificed themselves nor risked their lives during that revolutionary war which took so many.

On that day and in that Cojimar mansion, Fidel was meeting with the international adventurer known as "Che" Guevara and other old Communist leaders: Blas Roca, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez and Lázaro Peña. Both the civil and military structure was being rearranged to fit the Soviet mold.

I was amazed to see how meekly Fidel accepted the proposals of the Communist Party leaders as they indicated just what steps should be taken by Fidel and the revolution. "Che" Guevara and Carlos Rafael Rodríguez were explaining facts to Fidel and urging his continental future.

It was hard for me to contain by amazement but I did manage to maintain my serenity sufficiently so as to be able to analyze the magnitude of the plans which had been traced by the old Cuban Communist guard. Fidel was becoming more and more enthusiastic as they successfully goaded his ego and I realized that day just how great his ego really was.

I still recall the exchange of conversation between Blas Roca and Fidel, words which I was not fully able to believe until some time later when I had accumulated other corroborating facts.

Blas Roca, one of the top Cuban Communists told Fidel: "Whatever you do in Cuba via a Marxist-Leninist revolution, our organization in Latin America will take care that it is presented as the only possible social solution for those countries. With the help of Russia and Red China, you will become a continental hero. We shall place all resources in your hands. First, we must start out with psychological propaganda. This will then be followed by sufficient material to make it possible for you to carry out whatever revolutions are necessary to deliver all Latin American nations into your hands."

I confess that, upon hearing these words, I thought that they were kidding Fidel or that perhaps they were staging a little comedy. Soon, however, my doubts vanished. Fidel presented the following arguments, very seriously: "That plan is exactly what I want. While I was up in the Sierra Maestra 'Che' and Carlos Rafael gave me a rough idea of how it could work. I know that you are aware of this but, of course, I needed to have assurances of Russia's backing. I now see that I have this."

The old-guard Communists, Moscow's trusted agents in Cuba, answered: "It is an absolute fact."

"Che" Guevara then gave a detailed account of how conditions in the different Latin American nations favored a revolution.

I was awed by the information that the "Che" had on each Latin American country and especially by the way he presented his material, cleverly adapting the general panorama so as to build up Fidel's ego. After quite a bit of time, my brother spoke and I noticed that he had been thoroughly convinced of his ability to obtain what they had described as a continental objective. He said: "This continental action must begin with the two countries where conditions are the most favorable, i.e., Venezuela and Brazil. It will take about 10 or 15 years to get all of the other nations into the fold.

When all countries have socialist governments we will be able to place them under one single military and civil head. This is when I shall be able to assume the leadership in the name of the Latin American revolution."

Then Blas Roca smiled cynically and said: "Those nations will be called the Union of Socialist Republics of the Americas (U.S.R.A.) and they will become part of the Communist bloc."

Fidel's enthusiasm was uncontrollable. His eyes were popping out of their sockets as he paced back and forth among the group, once suddenly stopping to say:

"I am willing to do anything and I will not be satisfied with this little island. But, in order to get territorial advances I must have military help as soon as possible."

This was immediately promised, in Russia's name, by Blas Roca, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and "Che" Guevara.

On one point Fidel insisted: "I must keep Cuba armed with the most modern equipment so that the United States and some of the Latin American nations can be restrained until the moment that we are able to launch our continental plans. In order to do this I need hundreds of thousands of light and heavy infantry weapons, planes, and IRBM's. Every nation of this continent must be within our range, from New York to Washington, from Santiago de Chile to Buenos Aires. If I do not have this I will not be able to act from a position of strength, I will not be able to unleash revolutions, for I would immediately be dealt a crushing blow. This must be understood by the Soviet Union for, it is she who possesses the arms and projectiles that I need."

I confess and repeat that, even though I had already come to believe Fidel capable of the craziest of schemes I never thought that his monstrous plans would be on such a large scale and much less ever even dreamed that these would come true. But I had further opportunities to confirm the fact that the matter had indeed been referred to the Kremlin. Toward the end of 1962 I found out that Russia had placed the IREMs in Fidel's murdering hands. He now had the American Continent within his grasp.

From that moment on I was to learn, through very bitter experience, that Fidel and Communist imperialism were capable of anything in their drive to dominate all humanity.

But there are other important details which clearly show that Fidel and international communism have not given up their ambitions.

Anastas Mikoyan was forced to tell Fidel that Russia had to withdraw its missiles because of the October crisis.

Why did Fidel finally approve the measure? It was not only because he was forced to do so because I know that in return for his cooperation both Russia and Red China (which is even more aggressive than Fidel) agreed to continue to aid him in his plan to conquer Latin America through subversion, terrorism, and a strategy which was aimed at the immediate crumbling of all democratic institutions in Latin America so as to permit the colonial expansion of communism into the American Continent.

During Mikoyan's visit to Cuba, at the time of the October crisis, I learned of the details of the new plan which, I assure you, in no way eliminated the possibility that Cuba would once again have her nuclear warheads if the Western Powers dared to "doze" off again, as Fidel insisted they would. Fidel was most insistent with Mikoyan on the point that the missiles should be returned to Cuba the very first minute that the democratic countries showed the slightest signs of relenting.

Later on, Fidel started demanding loudly that the antiaircraft rockets which were in

charge of the Russians be put in Cuban hands. This has now been accomplished.

Fidel was quite indignant in his conversation with Mikoyan. "The United States has forced me to shelve my plan temporarily but someday we will drop bombs on the United States and this will be my revenge."

I can assure you that his madness knows no limits. All those of us who know him have no doubt in this matter. He most decidedly would not hesitate to drop bombs on the heads of millions of human beings. It would make no difference to him whether this be in a North American or South American city. The reason I can make this statement is that Fidel is very open about his plan when he is around his followers. He makes no effort to conceal these thoughts from his intimate circle.

After studying Fidel closely I am sure that we are in the presence of another Hitler. If Fidel had at his disposal the enormous resources which were Hitler's, humanity would already be deeply entrenched in world war III. Fidel's hatred is aimed not only against the United States but also against all of his fellowmen. It does not matter to him that he may bring catastrophe to the nations of the hemisphere so long as he is able to satisfy his brutal ambition of conquering and dominating the continent.

On another occasion I heard Fidel say: "The power of the United States must be immobilized. This can be done by conquering Latin America so as to have them fight the North. The strategic encirclement must come from below. It's just like taking a rebel hill by controlling all the flanks. This operation would be tantamount to crushing an inverted pyramid. The material backing needed to bring down this pyramid will be found in Russia, Red China or anywhere I can get it." (This is the way he talks to his inner circle.)

Fidel has not abandoned this strategy. Although he has been set back by failures such as that he found in Venezuela and Brazil which, somehow, managed to escape from his hands when civic and military forces joined to produce a coup that deposed the Castro-Communist instruments who had been in power, Fidel's tenacity is dangerous. He is determined to reach his ambitious goals. He is backed by Asia and is maneuvering the African countries so as to blackmail Moscow. This will probably give him more military and economic aid.

Since 1960 Cuba has been the Latin American "Technical Institute" for the destruction of democracy and massacre of human beings.

Cuba graduates thousands of young Latin American youths who have become masters in the art of terror and guerrilla warfare. Upon their graduation, they return to their homelands as agents of Soviet imperialism to foment disturbances and create rebel zones.

These young men, whom the Marxist-Leninist poison has turned into fanatics, will not be pioneers in the reconstruction and social progress of their countries but will be, much to their own and their countries' sorrow, the criminal agents who will carry out the plans for continental domination which have been conceived by treacherous Fidel Castro.

Fidel's deadly robots continue to travel using Mexico as a pivot for their operations. Mexico, a nation which is loved by all of us who belong to the Latin American family of nations, and each one of us would like to see her back in the fold and a part of the defensive action which seeks to keep Cuba's aggressive regime out of Latin America and to help restore the right to self-determination to Cuba.

Referring to this training of Latin American youths, I heard Fidel utter these words: "If we train but 300 men to act as group leaders in each country, we will have enough

to explode the Socialist Revolution volcano in Latin America. If to this we add the militant and/or nonmilitant Marxists-Leninists in all Latin America who will act as a fifth column as well as the other elements which through contagion, economic or social frustration, political ambition, either left or right, are conditioned to join an insurrectional movement, Soviet rockets will not be needed in the takeover of the entire continent."

These were his words. The facts now clearly demonstrate that Cuba has met and passed the goal which Fidel set 4 years ago. More and more guerrilla fighters have been trained and the results can be evidenced in any morning newspaper. Several heads of State and continental newspapers are ever decrying the active presence of the Castro-Communist guerrillas.

The U.S. Under Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Mr. Thomas C. Mann, recently stated: "Cuba continues to train agents in guerrilla warfare and to send them out into Latin America to carry out their activities. Guerrilla groups exist in Venezuela, Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala, and in the central region of Bolivia. And I believe," added Mr. Mann, "that this threat to hemispheric peace will continue for some time to come."

It has given us great satisfaction to see the solidarity of the labor movement in Latin America which has resulted in the taking of effective measures against the ships and the countries which feed the Communist Cuban regime. We quite deliberately state that they only feed the regime because the industrial and agricultural products which capitalist countries send to Cuba do not reach the starving Cuban people. This only serves the regime's privileged bosses or is reshipped to Moscow, the metropolis of Soviet imperialism. In the meantime, blockade or no blockade, the Cuban people will continue to suffer from want and hunger.

Now let us be alert to the latest maneuver which has been conceived by the diabolical minds of Fidel and his followers.

I can assure you that this is a fact. When Fidel considers that he is lost and is about to be overthrown by the patriotic Cuban people, and such an attempt is apt to be tried at any moment because internal dissension exists within the ranks of the Havana regime, and besides the fearless and harassing landings from outside which will continue, he will not leave without carrying out the plan which he has prepared for such an emergency.

This plan calls for immediate action, even to the extent of provoking war with some Latin American country, in order to avoid being toppled by an internal uprising. Should this moment come, Fidel will be more dangerous than ever.

I heard Fidel say on one occasion: "If I ever find that I have lost, thousands of men will have to fall with me because any armament that I have at my disposal will be fired against the United States or against any neighboring country on the continent. I shall thus force collective action against us for one thing. I will not have the world think that we have been destroyed by the people."

Fidel has never kept one single constructive promise. This was true when he lived with us in our home and is still true now that he keeps his homeland in a state of agony. But Fidel has kept most of his warlike threats and he has never been particularly shy about confessing this, sometimes privately, sometimes in public.

I would like to alert all countries on this continent, whether these be small or large, to the fact that Fidel does have sufficient resources to produce a most disastrous catastrophe, something which must be avoided and can only be avoided if steps are taken in time. His plan is similar to that of Nero when he set Rome afire. His plan calls for

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a retreat to some mountainous Cuban region where he will entrench as long as it is possible for him to survive but, in the meantime, he will not cease his efforts to produce a retreat which will be catastrophic not only to Cuba but also to all neighboring countries.

If the democratic countries of this continent feel, as those of us who know Fidel do, that he is a definite menace to continental peace, let us all do something quickly so as to prevent the execution of his diabolical plan for a bloody retreat.

Let us take strategic action before he has a chance to put his plans into effect.

Let us take preventive measures so as not to have to regret, later on, for not having taken adequate action in the face of what Fidel is planning at present, plans which will have disastrous effects on Cuba and all of her neighboring countries.

Let us remember that a malignant tumor must be cut away the moment it is discovered and not after it has spread all over the organism.

Let us remember that there exists a Communist conspiracy that has sworn to bury us and is rocking the foundations of our democratic institutions.

Let us remember that that aggressive and treacherous conspiracy is but 90 miles away from this great Nation on whose shoulders rests the burden of preserving Western civilization.

Let us remember that the democracies of the continent, those which they plan to destroy, do have the resources and means to act before it is too late.

Let us remember that when we are forced to be on the defensive, the offensive action of the enemy becomes even more dangerous.

Let us remember that almost 7 million inhabitants and a sister nation, which tomorrow could be your own and today is Cuba, are nailed to the cross of martyrdom.

Let us think about what those who today idly stand by and watch this crime being perpetrated and what they would do if tomorrow—and I pray to God that He deliver them from such a fate—they themselves were the victims.

Let us not forget that a sister nation is being crucified right in the heart of the Americas.

In the name of Christian charity, help us.

Help us so as not to prolong the agony which my martyred nation suffers while it anxiously looks to the free world for its salvation.

We, the people of Cuba, are not asking that you sacrifice your brave sons who are risking and sacrificing their lives every day in the defense of Christian civilization.

We are more than willing to sacrifice our lives.

My country is now ready to fight the necessary and justified war.

My people ask only that there be solidarity among the democracies on the continent and that this be evident in the form of material resources.

The rest of the task is ours and God's and we trust in Him to guide us on the road to liberation.

#### THE FLIGHT STATION AT SHERIDAN, WYO.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, last year the Federal Aviation Agency served notice of its intention to "remote" 42 flight-service stations at various points throughout the country. The Agency's plan includes a number of stations in Wyoming. At the time of the announcement, I strongly protested the action, which would, in effect, automate a number of extremely important flight-service stations in mountainous, meteorologi-

cally unpredictable areas, thereby depriving pilots and others of the most valuable asset of the stations as presently constituted—human intelligence and availability. This, in my view, is one of the least sensible manifestations of automation.

Wyoming has areas of rapidly changing weather, mountainous terrain, and sparse population. The manned flight-service stations perform a very necessary and basic safety function. The location of the Wyoming flight-service stations in proximity to the high mountains combines with the unpredictable weather of Wyoming to make these stations the most strategic in the United States. Time after time, flight-service stations in Wyoming have proven their worth in saving lives. Their importance is not in question.

Services provided by manned stations in such an area enhance flying safety, by providing extra flight information during times of marginal weather. These Wyoming stations are not just aids to the local operator, but are of very great assistance to cross-country operators who are not familiar with the mountainous area.

I submit, for printing in the Record, a wire-service dispatch describing an incident which occurred last week in Wyoming. The dispatch was sent to me by a good friend, Dr. Peter Madsen, vice president of the Wyoming State Senate. This case graphically presents the factors I have set forth in my arguments in opposition to the proposed action of the Federal Aviation Agency.

I appreciate the move for economy in Government. However, this is one case in which human safety must be the prime consideration. Life should not be measured in terms of dollars. I strongly urge the Administrators of the FAA to take this fact into consideration when contemplating any change in the present setup of flight-service stations. I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to all the personnel who took part in that rescue. I especially compliment the personnel of the Laramie flight-service station for a job well done.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### RESCUED PILOT ASSERTS HE WANTS TO LIVE IN WYOMING

LARAMIE, WYO.—Dutch Van Dux could have died in a lonely area northwest of Laramie Tuesday night after his plane went down, but the veteran pilot said he's returning to Wyoming to stay if he ever gets the chance. "They have men up here (in Wyoming)," said Van Dux, after a rescue crew brought him into Laramie. The rescue party spent all Tuesday night and most of Wednesday morning pushing through deep snow in an effort to get to the plane and its 44-year-old pilot.

Van Dux, who lives in Caracas, Venezuela, said he was on vacation when he had to land the light plane he was flying in the rugged country 18 miles northwest of Laramie after missing an approach at the Laramie airport.

He said he had to take the plane down in the first clear spot he could find because his airspeed indicator had frozen. He said within minutes after he brought the plane into "a nice soft landing," the snow was 2 inches deep on the wings.

Van Dux had nothing but praise for the

ground search crew, the Federal Aviation Agency control tower, and pilots of Western and Frontier Airlines, all of whom were instrumental in his rescue.

"In my 20 years of flying, I've never ran across such professionals in their businesses," he said. Van Dux said if it hadn't been for the professional way the FAA relayed fixes on his position, "I'd be dead right now."

Van Dux said soon after his landing he picked up radio contact with an airliner which helped fix his position.

"Later, a Western pilot helped fix my position," he said. "It was a DC-3 flown by a fabulous guy. I hope to meet him someday. The pilot picked me up on his way to Casper, then came back down on his way back, and stayed in the area close to 2 hours marking me for the people on the ground."

He said the two airline pilots worked together to fix his position for the search crews.

He said he had radio contact and kept warm by running the motor of his plane until the fuel ran out.

"Then it got awful cold," Van Dux said. Temperatures in the Laramie area dropped to zero during the night.

Van Dux said, "The FAA in Laramie is the finest group of men the FAA has ever had—and that goes for the citizens of Wyoming, too."

"I met men today who stomped around all night in the deep snow looking for me, and they were hardly out of breath when they found me," he added.

"If I ever get a chance for a job in the States, I'm heading for Wyoming," he said. "I feel wonderful now. I'm awestruck at the way people in Wyoming do things. I just wish the rest of the world had the integrity of people I've met since I've been here."

Van Dux said he is currently on vacation and has contacted his wife in Venezuela. He said he plans to get the airplane and be on his way when the weather clears enough to retrieve the craft.

#### REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, one of the major jobs the Senate should face this year is consideration of its procedures. We must make sure this body can function in a manner adequate to meet the great challenges that face it and the grave responsibilities it owes the American people.

The distinguished senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] has submitted a concurrent resolution to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. Senator MONRONEY is truly a leader in the field of congressional organization, as is witnessed by the LaFollette-Monroney Act of 1946. It is an honor to join him in sponsoring his proposal, Senate Concurrent Resolution 2.

The Kansas City Star, one of our Nation's most noted and respected newspapers, recently published a comprehensive editorial in support of the concurrent resolution. I believe that all members of Congress will find the editorial interesting and thought provoking. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "One of Congress Big Jobs: Congress," be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### ONE OF CONGRESS' BIG JOBS: CONGRESS

"We've got to stop acting like a bunch of retired farmers sitting on cracker barrels

around a potbellied stove"—Senator MIKE MONRONEY, Democrat, of Oklahoma.

By rough calculation, Congress, sitting around that potbellied stove, will transact a \$100-billion business this year. We share with Senator MONRONEY the suspicion that the lawmakers could find a more efficient and money-saving method to do what they have to do. For there certainly was no literary exaggeration when the Oklahoman carried his colorful language a bit further, mixed his metaphors and said:

"We who are the comptrollers of the world's biggest business are figuratively using a high slant-top desk, an old-fashioned revolving stool, a big thick ledger and a quill pen."

But alas, in the last several years we have heard the issue of congressional modernization discussed for the benefit of Congressmen who seem to have a deaf ear. We have, in fact, mentioned it ourselves on occasion and we must confess that, along with other commentators, political scientists, and some lawmakers, we have precious little to show for our efforts. We trust that Senator MONRONEY will be more successful.

We say this with some optimism, in fact. For on this matter of congressional reorganization, Senator MONRONEY is an old warhorse. As a Member of the House he was cosponsor of the LaFollette-Monroney Act of 1946, the last serious attempt on the part of Congress to do something about its own House (and its Senate, for that matter). We sense that the Senator is charging forth to battle. We're with him.

As we understand it, MONRONEY, in announcing his intention to seek congressional modernization, was speaking less of such philosophical problems as seniority and the filibuster, and more of certain procedural anachronisms that have been frozen into the Capitol Hill status quo. The obstacle to his success will be the traditional affection for the status quo on the Hill.

Nor does his proposal rule out the possibility of some changes in the seniority system and the filibuster rule. On the issue of seniority, at least, the chief impetus seems to be coming from the House, where Representative RICHARD BOLLING, Democrat, of Missouri, and the Democratic study group have been at work. The House liberals obviously are opening up a hornet's nest and without some aid and comfort directly from the man in the White House, we can't see much hope for their cause this year, justified as it may be.

But the Monroney movement needs only the cooperation of his fellow lawmakers. Some, we could imagine, are rather bitter over his indictment of the Capitol Hill club. Nevertheless, most men with experience in either House ought to understand what their colleague is talking about. Indeed, we should think that they would be the first to voice their discontent with the frustrations that inevitably must be a part of the congressional career.

In effect, Senator MONRONEY proposes that a joint, bipartisan committee should make a yearlong study of legislative procedures. We would assume that such a committee, although it should be careful of getting trapped in the old liberal-conservative fight, would nevertheless include the seniority system and the filibuster within its field of action. But primarily, MONRONEY has suggested that:

The committee structure should be studied to see whether certain committees are overloaded or, perhaps, no longer necessary in the legislative process. Presumably this would include some attention to matters of staff and the relationship in size between the minority and majority staff. At least, we hope that it would.

The casework of the lawmakers—demands made by their constituents for things big and little—should somehow be lightened,

while preserving the right of the people to petition their representatives on Capitol Hill.

Congress should consider the possibility of using computers and other modern aids in processing the immensely complex Federal budget. (On this point, we might add that in 1946, when Representative MONRONEY succeeded in his earlier congressional reorganization, the budget was a mere \$60 billion. This year, it may top \$100 billion. And all of this, if we may be permitted a comparison of our own, sometimes seems to be computed by the lawmakers on an abacus.)

Majority vote, rather than the current unanimous consent, should be enough to let committees meet while the Senate is in session.

Committees should meet as early as December 1, to start filling the pipeline with bills for Congress to consider when it meets in January. At present, both Houses must sometimes wait for weeks for the committees to give them something to do.

Something should be done about the Tuesday-to-Thursday system that permits legislative holidays on almost every Monday and Friday.

Certain details in private bills, now handled by Congress, should be turned over to the executive branch or the courts.

The present mandatory adjournment date of July 15—rarely observed—should be moved to August 15. And mandatory should mean mandatory "except in time of declared war."

Under the Constitution, each House would have to write its own new rules and thus in effect, the committee would operate as two committees. We should think that the two committees, as an example of time-saving and efficient techniques, might join in their hearings at least in the beginning. We would hope that testimony would be heard from other lawmakers, from students of government and from members of the executive branch. Frankly, we would expect this joint committee to be in session for many days. Its assignment would be one of the most important in the 89th Congress.

This is not to say that Congress has always failed to do its job. Indeed, we move into the 89th Congress with the generally fine record of the 88th looming large in the history books. It was a legislative class that wrote laws of immense importance, on subjects ranging from civil rights to tax reduction to education.

Nevertheless, the 88th Congress left much undone that ought to have been done and probably did some things that should not have been done. The quality of legislation is not the best of criteria for judging the efficiency of the congressional mechanism. Some brilliant words can be spoken around a potbellied stove and an accountant sitting at a slant-top desk can turn in a perfect ledger book.

The large issue is whether Congress, as the vital national institution that it is, is doing its job in the most efficient manner possible. On another level of reform, there are the issues of seniority, of the filibuster, of the power of committee chairmen to halt legislation, and the like. These—excepting the filibuster, which exists only in the Senate—are the matters of prime concern to the Democratic liberals of the House. But they will be asking their colleagues to sit in judgment on traditional procedures and to stand up and be counted for or against what is, in effect, the establishment.

MONRONEY is asking for nothing more than a little commonsense in writing the rules for Capitol Hill. It strikes us that his proposal to establish a study committee should have the support of both parties and should be acceptable on each side of Capitol Hill. He seeks only to free Congress of its own built-in inadequacies and to free its Members of the terrible demands of unnecessary legislative wheel-spinning on their time.

The world, if our reading is correct, is effi-

ciency. Perhaps even efficiency—or modernization, as you will—would not take all the bugs out of the legislative mechanism. But it certainly would help.

The new Congress will have many things to discuss and will have little time on its hands. But we suggest that high on its agenda should be the problem of Congress itself. The Members of the 89th Congress would serve their Nation admirably if they would give the Monroney proposal a try. In fact, we would say that a genuine modernization of Congress, this year or next, would find for the 89th a real place on the roster of our most illustrious legislative assemblies.

#### AWARD TO SENATOR SYMINGTON BY INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], was honored recently as "Home Study Man of the Year" by his alma mater, International Correspondence Schools, of Scranton, Pa.

This news may come as quite a surprise to those of us more familiar with the fact that he was a member of the class of 1923 at Yale University. However, it is also a matter of record that when my colleague went to work in a foundry, right after college, his boss—who knew of his Yale background—ordered him to "Go to a good correspondence school and learn something about making a living." It was then that he enrolled with the ICS.

Today, STUART SYMINGTON's second alma mater boasts over 7 million alumni, including a former Secretary of the Navy, Dan Kimball; and a former Secretary of Commerce, Luther Hodges. The ICS now has a worldwide student body of nearly 200,000 adults, in more than 50 countries. They could find no better record to emulate, should their career be public service or private industry, than that of STUART SYMINGTON.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the award be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the award was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HOME STUDY MAN OF THE YEAR FOR 1964:  
STUART SYMINGTON

Yale University, 1923.  
International Correspondence Schools, 1929.

Machine-shop apprentice at age 14, Army veteran at 17, company president at 24, member of the Truman administration, 1945, first Secretary of the Air Force, 1947, U.S. Senator from Missouri since 1952.

For his remarkable leadership during the past two decades when his entire career has been devoted to the security and well-being of his nation;

For the integrity and candor which characterize his views;

For his special concern for the human values which must always be paramount in a democratic society;

For demonstrating to millions of his countrymen desperately in need of more education and training that an individual's ambition, motivation, and ability are the true keys to learning; and

For his conviction born of personal experience that sound correspondence instruction is, to quote him, "consistent with the American aim and ambition for self-improvement—no man or woman in this Nation is



New Mexico, Mr. ANDERSON, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES], and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] described their separate solutions to the problem.

The three bills have in common what is to me a fatal failing: They would establish giant new Federal or Federal-State programs that would go on forevermore, a continuing and increasing burden to the taxpayer, long after the problem they are supposed to cure could have cured itself. The committee bill introduced today has the same disadvantage.

The only proposal that does not have this built-in defect is H.R. 21, the comprehensive, voluntary insurance program I first introduced 3 years ago. H.R. 21 encourages people to take care of their own problems, and H.R. 21 can solve the present problem without fastening a permanent new bureaucracy on the taxpayers of this country.

Today's retired people face problems unique in our history. They experienced two World Wars and a great depression during the best years of their lives and their postwar earnings were subject to the burden of heavy taxes and soaring inflation. They are living longer than any previous American generation, and they are doing so in large measure because of the tremendous progress that has been made in American medical knowledge and techniques. Paradoxically, it is this same program in the field of medicine that places a heavy and often insurmountable burden on their slender resources, because modern medical care is costly beyond anything we have experienced in the past. They need help.

The next generation of retired persons will have much greater opportunity to prepare for retirement.

In the first place, they know they can expect longer lives and must make preparation. They will be people who spent most of their productive years in times of prosperity. They will be protected by the pension plans that are now being developed in most industries on a scale hitherto unknown. And they will have available to them methods of prepaying medical care insurance, company programs for the medical care of retired employees, and greatly improved insurance programs especially designed for the retired person. All of these things are now developing, proving the ingenuity of the free enterprise system and its ability to solve the problems of our people.

In the face of these facts, why adopt a program that would burden the already inadequate Social Security System with a tremendously costly, permanent hospital program, financed by a regressive payroll tax, as H.R. 1 would do?

Why adopt a program that envisions a complicated Federal-State relationship with uncertain benefits, depending upon the willingness of the States to increase their taxes or to divert funds from existing programs that already are inadequately financed? H.R. 3727 would do that.

All three would mean tremendous annual expenditures. Only H.R. 3727 in-

cludes any incentive to people to find the means of helping themselves, and this feature of the bill is at cross-purposes with all the rest. How effective will it be to provide a tax deduction for prepaid medical care insurance if the individual is assured the Government will take care of him anyhow?

H.R. 21 will accomplish more for less money because it relies on the genius of free enterprise and because it does not require the establishment of any new Federal or State agency or even the enlargement of any agency. And as the years go by, as medical care insurance becomes more comprehensive and more readily available and as our older people become better able to discharge their obligations, H.R. 21 will become less and less necessary. It is a crutch we can throw away when we no longer need it; not a brace we must wear for life.

The money and influence of the AFL-CIO, the Democratic Party, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have been used to publicize the King-Anderson bill. The AMA must be spending millions on publicity for the Curtis-Herlong bill. The fact that the ranking minority member and several of his colleagues on the Committee on Ways and Means have prepared a bill has been widely noted in the press and certainly is newsworthy. Meanwhile, H.R. 21, the easiest and best solution to the problem, which has gained broad acceptance and support wherever it has been presented to doctors, senior citizens, and others during the past 3 years, receives little consideration.

I repeat, it will be a sad day for this country if we insist on trying to solve this temporary problem by building another bureaucratic monster. Let us take the simple, direct, effective route provided in H.R. 21.

#### TRIBUTE TO BENJAMIN L. ROSENBLUM

(Mr. MOORE (at the request of Mr. CLEVELAND) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, today it is my sad duty to announce the passing of the late Benjamin L. Rosenbloom, one of our former Members, who served the First Congressional District of West Virginia, so ably, fearlessly, and with such distinction from 1921 to 1925 in the 67th and 68th Congresses.

Mr. Rosenbloom passed away last Monday in a Cleveland hospital at the age of 85 after a long illness.

An outstanding Republican, Mr. Rosenbloom was a close personal friend of mine. He was a leader while in the Congress in securing laws on stream pollution, guaranteeing bank deposits, and governing aliens. Often we had the opportunity over the years of my service in this body to compare notes of the many changes that have taken place.

Mr. Rosenbloom served in the West Virginia State Senate before coming to the Congress in 1921. During his congressional campaign, he compiled a paper

Wheeling, W. Va.

During this period, Mr. Rosenbloom also found time to serve as Wheeling city councilman, mayor, and newspaper publisher. Along with his busy lifetime of public service, he served as grand exalted ruler of the Wheeling, W. Va., Elks Lodge. In the 1930's, he founded a weekly newspaper called Tides which was best known for its outspoken editorial policy. He was quite outspoken on the subject of prohibition. At the time he mounted his crusade in the State senate, he was the only member of that body opposing the dyes.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Rosenbloom was a leader in his time. He maintained his keen interest in government long after he left the Congress. I am proud Benjamin L. Rosenbloom came from West Virginia—particularly proud that he came from the district in West Virginia I am privileged to represent. I believe we all are better people because of him and his lifetime of service to his State and Nation.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

(Mr. WOLFF (at the request of Mr. ADAMS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I echo the sentiments of the President on the importance of education:

Nothing matters more to the future of our country, not our military preparedness—for armed might is worthless if we lack the brains to build a world peace; not our productive economy—for we cannot sustain growth without trained manpower; not our democratic system of government—for freedom is fragile if citizens are ignorant.

The need for better educational facilities and materials is current; the need for a more comprehensive education plan to secure adequate education levels for all Americans is current. These current problems should and must be met now. Our great country craves and needs better educated citizens if it is to continue as a prospering, vibrant society.

The public education of our children is primarily the responsibility of the States and local communities. The Federal Government has never sought to preempt this responsibility, and I want to exercise continued vigilance that this policy is adhered to. However, when spiraling costs place education beyond the means of our burdened local and State governments, the Federal Government has both the authority and responsibility to assist them. Local taxes in support of education and the sundry other responsibilities have reached the saturation point. The local resident is inundated with a myriad of local taxes which utilize real property holding as the tax base. There is a need to spread this burden; there is a need of providing

### SPAIN SUBVERTS ITSELF WITH CUBA DEALS

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, yesterday a high-ranking diplomat defected from the Cuban Embassy in Spain only to tell the press after he had reached asylum in Paris that Fidel Castro was using his Embassy in Spain to launch subversion against the Franco regime.

The diplomat, Odon Alvarez de la Campa, was once a trusted Castro aide who participated in the Communist revolution in Cuba. His testimony gives dramatic proof to the treachery of Castro and his followers. Spain and Cuba have just signed a trade agreement which now makes Spain Castro's leading trade partner in Western Europe.

The American Maritime Association has revealed that Spain is building a large fleet of cargo vessels, refrigerator ships, and fishing boats for Cuba. Many of these will be used by Castro's seamen to compete against the U.S. fishing industry, as well as for spreading Communist subversion throughout this hemisphere.

But the fact also remains that Spain's help to Castro is being directed right back against her. By helping Communist Cuba, Spain is subverting herself, and assisting Castro in his efforts to foment trouble in this hemisphere.

Only a tight boycott against Cuba imposed by the free world will curb Communist Cuba.

### INCIDENT IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA

(Mr. KREBS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, this morning we again witnessed another incident that demonstrates the humiliation, harassment and intolerance heaped upon many of our citizens in certain sections of our country.

More than a hundred American citizens, en route from the Nation's Capital to Montgomery, Ala., were delayed in interstate travel when their train, chartered from the Southern Railroad, was left without a crew of the Atlanta & West Point Railroad in the State of Georgia. Mind you, these were American citizens traveling from one State to another. This is not one of those intolerable situations that are supposed to be commonplace in some far-off undemo-

cratic country where the elite totalitarian rule. More and more, though, our Nation is becoming increasingly aware of the shameful hypocrisy of a state of mind that decries intervention in a supposedly genteel way of life. But I am sure that my colleagues and their constituents will not excuse this latest affront as merely another sample of a way of life that in its ante bellum days was the accepted expression of hospitality.

The Interstate Commerce Commission was created to regulate common carriers in the promotion of safe and efficient transportation service. I intend to ask that Commission to investigate this apparently calculated refusal of service and request that it take proper steps to insure safe and uninterrupted passage for our citizens wherever they may be in interstate travel.

Mr. Speaker, I say shame on those guilty crewmen and railroad managers for their spiteful acts.

(Mr. WYDLER (at the request of Mr. CLEVELAND) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

(Mr. WYDLER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.)

### INJUSTICE DONE TO OUR LOCAL POLICE BY ASSOCIATION

(Mr. GROVER (at the request of Mr. CLEVELAND) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, as one who wholly supports the civil rights concepts of equal opportunity and equality under the law and certainly equality in voting rights, may I address myself to another injustice, the injustice done to our local police by association.

Oftentimes the lens is in focus on the mouse and misses the mountain. The concentration of national interest on the shameful events in Selma, Ala., a fortnight ago, would present, if unchallenged, an erroneous image of the policemen of the State, county, or local communities—an image unfair and undeserved.

So, Mr. Speaker, it is high time that someone took the floor of this House to speak out for the tens of thousands of completely dedicated Americans, God-fearing family men who make up the police forces of this country. These men are as much soldiers as our brave men in the far corners of the world in their unselfish devotion to duty—often dangerous and unacknowledged.

My hat is off to those I know well—to Nassau's and Suffolk's fine county and village police in my district—to New York City's finest—and to their colleagues in the police departments countrywide who have done so much for so many.

I am pleased to submit for the interest of the House this eloquent letter from

a constituent to one of our local newspapers in praise of the men in blue.

HUNTINGTON, LONG ISLAND.

EDITOR, THE LONG-ISLANDER: The continually growing efforts of certain individuals, some of whom are legislators, to circumvent and curtail the activities of policemen in the sworn duties of the profession, (i.e.) protecting life and property, detection of crime, arrest of offenders et al., is having a serious and menacing effect.

Police work is a never-ending, ceaseless effort that requires the utmost dedication in the war on crime. The police officer must feel appreciated, must feel he is backed by the citizenry in general as well as his superiors. Charles Murphy one of the most sagacious politicians in the heyday of Tammany Hall for all his Governor-bussing, Senator-making proclivity refused to interfere with the orderly processes of the police department.

Today, however, politicians and office-seekers, in order to curry favor with group, are willing to scrap the duties of the police officer or so hamstringing their operations as to make the job too onerous. The writer was amazed to note in North Carolina papers advertisements for candidates for New York City Police Department.

Suffolk County has not as yet felt this reluctance of police candidates to take the job of law enforcement but as we grow, it could be faced with the same problems. Our choice then would be to lower the high standards now required with a resultant loss of top materials; or, seek recruits in the hinterlands of the Nation.

Let us hope that zealous newspaper editors, television and radio commentators, together with political office-seekers, do not oversubscribe to the liberal views on the Declaration of Independence to such excess that they will undermine the very foundation of the beloved Constitution. Rapine, riot and revolution in every corner of the globe, have followed in the breakdown of law and order.

On this the eve of President Johnson's message on anticrime to Congress, he must stress that we jealously guard, protect, and justify the rights and duties of the police officer in his herculean task, against no matter the power or prestige of those who would oppose. Public opinion must prevail. Let us stand beside not behind the men who wear the blue.

RAYMOND A. DONOVAN.

### MEDICAL CARE PROGRAM

(Mr. BOW (at the request of Mr. CLEVELAND) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, it is distressing to me, as I am certain it must be to millions of Americans, to see the Congress moving toward enactment of a massive, permanent Government medical care program in an effort to solve what is really a temporary problem.

For various sound and understandable reasons, the majority of Americans who are retiring today, or have retired in the past few years, have not been able to make adequate preparations to discharge obligations which may arise when serious illness strikes. For equally sound reasons, this is a temporary problem which will not affect so large a proportion of retired citizens in the years ahead nor affect any of them as seriously.

I listened with interest to a television program in which the senior Senator of

# Lawmakers at White House

President and Mrs. Johnson entertained members of Congress last night in the eighth of their series of congressional receptions.

The party, which was attended by 54 representatives and their wives, followed the same format as previous parties in the series.

Last night's guests were:

The Secretary of Defense and Mrs. McNamara.  
Hon. and Mrs. George W. Ball, acting secretary of state.  
Hon. and Mrs. Kermit Gordon, director of the Bureau of the Budget.  
Rep. and Mrs. E. Ross Adair.  
Rep. and Mrs. Bert Bandstra.  
Rep. and Mrs. Lindley Beckworth.  
Rep. Frances P. Bolton.  
Rep. and Mrs. William E. Brock.  
Rep. James A. Burke.  
Rep. and Mrs. Phillip Burton.  
Rep. and Mrs. John W. Davis.  
Rep. and Mrs. W. J. Bryan Dorn.  
Rep. and Mrs. Robert B. Duncan.  
Rep. and Mrs. Don Edwards.  
Rep. and Mrs. W. Jack Edwards.  
Rep. and Mrs. Robert F. Ellsworth.  
Rep. and Mrs. John N. Erlenborn.  
Rep. and Mrs. Frank E. Evans.  
Rep. and Mrs. Billie S. Farnum.  
Rep. and Mrs. O. C. Fisher.  
Rep. Thomas S. Foley.  
Rep. and Mrs. E. C. Gathings.  
Rep. and Mrs. Sam M. Gibbons.  
Rep. and Mrs. Bernard F. Grabowski.  
Rep. and Mrs. Harlan Hagen.  
Rep. and Mrs. Lee H. Hamilton.

Rep. and Mrs. James Harvey.  
Rep. and Mrs. A. S. Herlong Jr.  
Rep. and Mrs. Chet Hollifield.  
Rep. and Mrs. James J. Howard.  
Rep. and Mrs. Edward Hutchinson.  
Rep. and Mrs. Andrew Jacobs Jr.  
Rep. and Mrs. Albert W. Johnson.  
Rep. and Mrs. Hastings Keith.  
Rep. and Mrs. Cecil R. King.  
Rep. and Mrs. Clarence D. Long.  
Rep. and Mrs. John O. Marsh Jr.  
Rep. and Mrs. Joseph W. Martin Jr.  
Rep. and Mrs. Robert C. McEwen.  
Rep. and Mrs. John M. Murphy.  
Rep. and Mrs. Alec G. Olson.  
Rep. and Mrs. Otto E. Passman.  
Rep. and Mrs. Richard H. Poff.  
Rep. and Mrs. Albert H. Quie.  
Rep. and Mrs. Teno Roncalio.

Rep. and Mrs. Fred B. Rooney.  
Rep. and Mrs. Fernand J. St. Germain.  
Rep. and Mrs. Herman T. Schneebeli.  
Rep. and Mrs. Richard S. Schweiker.  
Rep. and Mrs. Robert T. Secrest.  
Rep. and Mrs. George F. Senger Jr.  
Rep. and Mrs. Robert L. F. Sikes.  
Rep. J. William Stanton.  
Rep. and Mrs. Burt L. Talcott.  
Rep. and Mrs. Herbert Tenzer.  
Rep. and Mrs. Weston E. Vivian.  
Rep. and Mrs. Jamie L. Whitten.

THE EVENING STAR  
Washington, D. C.  
Friday, March 5, 1965

Society-Home C-7

## Embroidery Lessons

The Ukrainian National Women's League, Chapter 78 of Washington, will begin instruction in Ukrainian embroidery tomorrow, 10 a.m. to noon, at the Holy Family

Ukrainian Catholic Church, 4817 Blagden Ave. NW.

Mrs. Myra Skaskiw, president, and Mrs. Stephanie Diachok will teach the various embroidery stitches and patterns.

DI 7-7000

DI 7-7000

Olga creates  
the natural,  
weightless  
contour bra...

YOUNG  
SECRET™



shop our suburban stores  
until 9:30 tonight

DESIGNS ON  
SPRING... in our  
incredibly supple de-  
signer suit beauti-  
fully moulded by  
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# Newspaper Says JFK Foiled '62 Plot

## By CIA to Sabotage Cuban Sugar

NEW YORK, March 26 (UPI) — Enterprising U.S. agents chemically sabotaged a shipment of Cuban sugar bound for Russia just before the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 but President Kennedy intervened to prevent delivery of the tainted sugar, the New York Times reported today.

White House intervention foiled the Central Intelligence Agency's "Caribbean melodrama" but incurred the wrath of the Soviet government in the process by holding in a Puerto Rican port thousands of sacks of sugar taken off a Russia-bound freighter, the Times said. The case remains in the Puerto Rican Commonwealth courts where it ended up after a bitter diplomatic exchange and legal maneuvering.

According to the Times, CIA agents tainted the sugar with a chemical agent which was nonpoisonous but which spoiled the sugar's quality and gave it a foul taste. The idea was to plant suspicion in Soviet minds about the quality and purity of Cuban sugar.

Mr. Kennedy intervened because he feared injury to Soviet consumers and was wary of setting a "dreadful precedent in chemical sabotage," the Times said. It reported the case came to light during the present controversy over South Viet-Nam forces using U.S. supplied nonlethal gas in their anti-Communist guerrilla war.

A British freighter, under lease to the Soviets, made its way into San Juan harbor on Aug. 22, 1962, after damaging a propeller on a reef. It carried the sugar and other cargo, the Times said.

A total of 14,135 of the 80,000 bags of sugar aboard were placed in a Puerto Rican customs warehouse where the U.S. agents applied the chemical substance to it, the newspaper said.

The Times said that in early September Washington ordered that the impounded sugar should not be allowed out of Puerto Rico for any reason. A man known as Terry Kane and some associates from Miami went to court to contend

that the sugar should be permanently seized by Puerto Rico in settlement of debts owed by the Cubans. The court issued such a writ, the paper said.

The action prompted a series of angry diplomatic notes from Moscow. Washington replied that the Russians should seek legal redress. The Russians went to Federal court in Puerto Rico on Oct. 14, two days before Soviet missiles were discovered in Cuba.

The court ruled that a Soviet importer, not the Cubans, owned the sugar and it could not be used as a settlement of a Cuban debt, the Times said. Puerto Rico appealed. In July, 1963, a Federal appellate court in Boston ruled the Federal courts had no jurisdiction and the case then returned to Commonwealth courts where it remains unsettled.

The Times also said that during the time the British freighter was in port in Puerto Rico a mysterious fire broke out in its hold.





